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Pact Proposal on Arms Ceiling Levels Draws Comment

LD2305152189 Moscow TASS in English 1508 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Vienna May 23 TASS—Oleg Grinevskiy, head of the Soviet delegation at the talks on conventional arms in Europe, today submitted, on behalf of socialist countries, a working document on ceilings on NATO and Warsaw Treaty conventional armed forces and armaments in Europe which are beyond national territories. These ceilings include armaments in Europe which are beyond national territories. These ceilings include armaments in combat units and in storage.

Local observers drew attention to the fact that the proposals advanced by socialist countries, in contrast to the respective proposals by the NATO countries, cover a wider list of categories determining the sides' offensive capabilities. In this sense they go further than the West's proposals.

Relying on proposals for imposing curbs on the levels of troops and armaments beyond national territories, there is a chance to reach such solutions which would really lead to a reduction in the concentration of troops and armaments in Europe and to enhancing stability and security at lower levels, analysts believe.

At the talks on conventional arms in Europe L. Balcar, ambassador and head of the Czechoslovak delegation, tabled a working document on limiting the armed forces and armaments for any NATO or Warsaw Treaty member-country to 35-40 percent of both alliances' general aggregate level.

First Soviet T-72 Tanks Leave Czechoslovakia

LD2305174589 Moscow TASS in English 1726 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Prague May 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Yuriy Trushin:

Soviet troops continue to withdraw from Czechoslovakia. The first echelon of 23 T-72 tanks and the personnel of one of the units of the Central Group of Troops left the town of Krupice in the Teplice Region, Czechoslovakia's western border, today.

A total of 192 Soviet tanks will be withdrawn from Czechoslovakia by the end of the year. Some of the tanks will be remelted, others will be used in the national economy.

It is noteworthy that the withdrawal of the first tank batallion has coincided with the publication in local newspapers of the appeal of the Warsaw Treaty states to NATO countries to disband simultaneously the two military-political blocs and dissolve their military organisations as the first step.

The Soviet troops are withdrawing in conditions of broad openness. Lieutenant-General Yu. Shchepin, chief of staff of the Central Group of Troops, briefed Czechoslovak and foreign journalists on the further schedule of Soviet withdrawal from Czechoslovakia.

U.S., USSR 'Fulfilling Demands' of INF Treaty

LD2305221289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast; video report by A. Belov and A. Savin]

[Text] The first day of June is approaching, the anniversary of the exchange of ratification documents on the implementation of the Soviet-U.S. Treaty on the Elimination of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles. Our correspondent visited the Kapustin-Yar missile test site where, once again, a group of inspectors from the United States has been working.

[A. Belov and A. Savin] On 28 August 1988, a new stage in the history of the Kapustin-Yar missile test site began. On that day, the first three intermediate-range missiles were destroyed here. The destruction of missiles has moved from being a sensation to an ordinary phenomenon. A real conveyor has now been regulated and functions precisely at the test site, with its own technology, production, and ecological discipline, and is monitored by the inspectors with undeviating compliance to the treaty. In addition to the missiles, the warhead cases and instrumentation compartment cases are eliminated at the destruction site. [video opens with long shot of missile, inspectors and others walking through mud toward it, then apparently carrying out measurements; video then moves to close shots of soldiers moving and measuring what seem to be nose sections, then machinery crushing such sections]

[Begin recording] [A.K. Kopylov, colonel, identified by caption] An analysis of the inspection activity within the framework of the INF Treaty makes it possible to conclude that both sides, both the Soviet Union and the United States, are punctually of the treaty. What I have said is demonstrated by the fact that all the inspections which have been carried out into verification of initial data and [words indistinct] have revealed not violations of the treaty's obligations, either on the part of the Soviet Union or on the part of the United States. I believe that this is a good basis for the elaboration and signing of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction of strategic offensive weapons.

[T. Korneyl, U.S. inspector in English with superimposed Russian translation] I have been impressed by the professionalism of the Soviet officers and men and by their desire to give us assistance. I believe that both the U.S. inspectors and the Soviet officers have a common desire to carry out this common task successfully. [end recording] [video shows Soviet colonel and U.S. inspector speaking, then shot of crushed nose section being removed to another spot by Soviet personnel; video then shows a long shot of an explosion, viewed from the test site by seated observers, then close shots of men in special clothing and wearing gas masks approaching and walking round what appears to be a crater]

[Belov] Peaceful explosions thunder out over the steppe. The elimination of missiles using the explosion method is carried out every month. Nineteen SS-20s were destroyed in May, and to date a total of 126 missiles have been eliminated at the test site. Their destruction continues. Our governments and peoples are taking the first steps along the path of disarmament.

INF Inspectors To Visit U.S. Base at Woensdrecht

LD2305210489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 2040 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The Hague, 24 May (TASS)—Today [25 May] will see the arrival in the Netherlands of a 10-man group of military inspectors who will carry out inspections at the U.S. Air Force Base at Woensdrecht. The inspections are being made in accordance with the provisions for verifying compliance with the Soviet-U.S. INF treaty. This is the second inspection at the Woensdrecht base, where 48 U.S. cruise missiles were to have been deployed.

Sakharov on Disarmament, Struggle for Reform

PM1905101289 Rome AVANTI! in Italian 16 May 89 p 7

[Unattributed interview with USSR People's Deputy Andrey Sakharov in Milan on 15 May]

[Excerpt] Milan—[Passage omitted] [Interviewer] Professor, how do you assess Gorbachev's unilateral disarmament proposals?

[Sakharov] I have a unilateral disarmament proposal of my own: to cut military service by half. It is part of my election platform. If implemented, it would objectively constitute an act of unilateral disarmament by the Soviet side. However, as regards Gorbachev's proposals, you must not forget that the Soviet Union at present has forces two-to-three times greater than those of the Western countries. Be that as it may, Gorbachev's initiative is a major step in the right direction.

[Interviewer] How do you believe the restructuring front and that of its opponents are organized?

[Sakharov] I believe that the situation is more complex than it seems. It would be a mistake to talk in terms of good people and bad people, of Brezhnevites and non-Brezhnevites. There are indeed people who maintain ties with the past—a dramatic and complex past. You cannot confine the issue within a set mold. An implacable power struggle is under way, involving aspects not apparent to all of us. [passage omitted]

Commentary Views Continued SDI Experiments

LD2205141389 Moscow World Service in English 1110 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] The United States has continued experiments to develop space-based weapons components in the framework of its Strategic Defense Initiative widely known as Star Wars. More on this from our analyst Yuriy Solton, who writes:

Six years after it was first launched SDI's priority of taking strike weapons into near-East orbit to hit both space and ground-based targets stays put, despite a succession of exotic projects. U.S. scientists and experts who have repeatedly called to abandon it said the space shield could hardly protect the Americans in the event of a nuclear war. Instead they said it would spur on the arms race. However, as its predecessor, the Bush Administration appears to be dismissing expert warnings.

True, Washington is now playing with a more simplified and less expensive version but it doesn't change the project's essence. Work is still under way to produce chemical lasers, particle beam, and photon weapons. There is also a plan to manufacture thousands of small size antimissiles, often described as shining pebbles. All of these platforms to be stationed on space-based support platforms or ground based boosters are expected to be deployed in the mid-1990s.

The new SDI version, too, is fully out of line with the 1972 Soviet- American ABM Treaty which forbids the sides to develop, test, or deploy space-based systems or components. However, U.S. military officials are well aware that they are at odds with the treaty. Defense Secretary Richard Cheney is quoted as saying that once SDI was in place, which he hopes it eventually would be, and found to be incompatible with the ABM Treaty he would call to abandon the treaty. It would be hard to say to what extent the Defense Secretary's views fall into line that of the administration, but State Secretary Mr James Baker during his recent talks in Moscow said it was still working on its proposals.

In the meantime one thing is clear. Talks on substantial reductions of strategic arms that the Soviet Union and the United States are expected to resume in the middle of next month may well run into a deadlock if the 1972 ABM Treaty as such is put at stake.

Pact Dissolution Proposal to NATO Discussed

LD2305210589 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 May 89

[Commentary by Vladimir Pasko]

[Text] A message from the Warsaw Pact member states to the states that are members of NATO has been published. The socialist countries are again proposing the dissolution of both military-political blocs, and, as a first step, their military organizations. All means of waging war should be included in the disarmament dialogue, and political-dialogue relations should be established between both alliances. The message was delivered on the eve of the jubilee NATO summit meeting that will open in Brussels at the end of May.

Over to commentator Vladimir Pasko.

[Pasko] To the credit of the Warsaw Pact, it has produced quite a few initiatives aimed at reducing military confrontation in Europe. Nevertheless, the latest message is attracting particular attention. As is known, as it prepares to mark the 40th anniversary of NATO, the alliance's leadership intends to adopt at its jubilee session a global concept document—the bloc's strategy for the 1990's and the beginning of the 21st century.

It is essentially a matter of formulating the principles by which NATO members will abide in their relations with the Warsaw Pact countries. The very fact that the matter has arisen is noteworthy. Since the first day of its formation, the NATO alliance has based its relations with the socialist states on the principles of confrontation. Posing the question about a new strategy reflects the important fact that the earlier approaches no longer suit the West. More and more Western politicians are realizing that the exacerbation of relations does not lead to any strengthening of security. Yet inertia continues to dominate the bloc's policy. Even in the conditions created by the changes occurring in international relations, and by the new approaches of the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact countries toward the accomplishment of foreign policy tasks, NATO's governing circles cannot summon up the courage to reject the earlier stereotypes. The documents adopted by the bloc invariably express devotion to the strategy of ensuring security based on deterrence. However, if one follows that line, can one bring about fundamental changes in the elimination of military confrontation? The Warsaw Pact countries again draw attention to this question. In their message, they stress that the realities of today's world call for a new concept of security—mutual and indivisible security, based on a continuous lowering of military confrontation and a reduction of armaments until the threat of war breaking out is completely eliminated through the abolition of the very means and potential for waging it.

The Warsaw Pact states are again proposing to the NATO countries that they should move together in that direction. Recalling their initiatives, the Pact states are suggesting to the NATO countries that political-dialogue relations should be established between both alliances. The Warsaw Pact countries' message is the latest appeal to the West to appreciate the new realities of the present-day world and to make use of the opportunity that is now opening up in order to completely overcome the consequences of the cold war in Europe and throughout the world.

Lushev Meets Honecker Following Pact Meeting

LD2305175689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1715 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Berlin, 23 May (TASS)—E. Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, today received Army General P.G. Lushev, USSR first deputy minister of defense and commander in chief of the Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces.

The Soviet commander talked about the meeting of Warsaw Pact Joint Armed Forces which is taking place in the GDR capital.

E. Honecker highly appraised the work of the military council. He stressed the readiness of the GDR and its Armed Forces for the fulfilment of allied obligations, for the strengthening of the unity and cohesion of the Warsaw Pact, and for active participation in the process of disarmament.

Soviet-GDR Exercise Ends; 'Objectives Attained'

LD2105163789 Moscow TASS in English 1617 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 21 TASS—A joint exercise of the body of Soviet troops in Germany and of the troops of the National People's Army of the German Democratic Republic came to a close today.

Cooperation between and control of various arms and services were practiced during the exercise.

The objectives set at the exercise have been attained. The supervisors of the exercise have estimated that it has been instructive and revealed a raised level of the troops' field training.

The troops taking part in the exercise are returning to their permanent stations.

The exercise was watched by observers who were invited from a number of CSCE participating countries in accordance with the document of the Stockholm Conference.

CEMA Secretariat Announces Future Projects

LD2205151489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0929 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 22 May (TASS)—Tass Correspondent Georgiy Meyzerov reports:

The pooling of efforts of the CEMA state and of the SFRY in creating and organizing the production of new aviation technology is one of the priority areas in the collective concept of the international socialist division of labor for the period 1991-2005. As had been reported at the CEMA Secretariat, a draft intergovernmental agreement has already been prepared on multilateral cooperation in the production of the Il-96-300 long-haul passenger aircraft. In accordance with this document, Bulgaria, the GDR, Cuba, Poland, the USSR, the CSSR, and the SFRY will take part. It is envisaged that the Soviet Union will specialize in the manifacture of this model and will supply about 120 such airliners to its partners. The countries participating in the agreement in return will provide the USSR with component parts of 36 designations.

The Il-96-300 is designed to carry 300 passengers over a distance of 4,000-9,000 km, and on certain routes up to 11,000 km, at a speed of 850-900 kilometers per hour.

Another draft intergovernmental agreement under preparation envisages multilateral cooperation in the manifacture of the Tu-204 passenger aircraft. The People's Republic of Bulgaria, the Hungarian People's Republic, the Polish People's Republic, the CSSR, and the SFRY will take part in it. The agreement establishes that the Soviet Union is going to start manufacturing—and from 1992 exporting to these countries—this model of aircraft, the demand for which is estimated at nearly 400 units up to the year 2000. Other participants in the agreement will specialize in the manufacture of 45 kinds of components and installations.

The Tu-204 is designed to carry 214 passengers on air routes of up to 3,500 km, at speeds of 810-850 kilometers per hour.

We were told at the CEMA Secretariat that the discussion of these two aircraft intergovernmental agreements is planned for the next session of the CEMA Engineering Cooperation Committee which will take place in Hungary.

'Group of Six' Representatives Meet Gorbachev

PM2405103789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
24 May 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "Presentation to M.S. Gorbachev of Declaration by Six States"]

[Text] M.S. Gorbachev received the following ambassadors in the Kremlin 23 May: Triloki Nath Kaul of India, Anders Thunborg of Sweden, Federico Saturnino Bravo of Argentina, and Juan Jose Bremer Martino of Mexico, as well as Aristidhis Sandhis and Mahmud Issa, charges d'affaires of Greece and Tanzania. They presented a declaration from the leaders of their states comprising the well-known "Group of Six," which represents four continents and which had celebrated its 5th anniversary the day before.

This is a very important document, M.S. Gorbachev said. I make a high assessment of the latest initiative by the "Six"—both the basic spirit of the document and many of its provisions.

I would like to give an assurance that the Soviet Union remains committed to the idea of disarmament—above all, nuclear disarmament. During my recent meeting with U.S. Secretary of State J. Baker there was a detailed discussion of a wide range of disarmament problems. We agreed to resume Soviet-U.S. talks in the most important avenues. If both sides show goodwill, M.S. Gorbachev stressed, I am sure that progress is possible. It will also be possible to achieve a 50-percent cut in strategic offensive weapons and to resolve the issue of scrapping chemical weapons. President G. Bush is taking a favorable stance on this. But practical steps, too, are needed. We are hoping for progress in the very near future.

At the talks with J. Baker we stated our readiness for a joint moratorium on nuclear tests at any time.

M.S. Gorbachev drew the attention of the six states' representatives to the new Soviet initiative with regard to ending and, ultimately, banning the production of fissionable materials for weapons.

He reaffirmed the Soviet Union's determination to travel the path of conventional arms and armed forces cuts both in the West and in the East within the framework of the practical implementation of the doctrine of defense sufficiency.

Presenting the official text of the declaration, T.N. Kaul expressed good wishes, on behalf of the states represented, for success in the speediest conclusion of a treaty on 50-percent cuts in strategic offensive weapons and further progress down the road of eliminating nuclear weapons and reducing and destroying other armaments.

Taking leave of the ambassadors, M.S. Gorbachev asked them to convey best wishes to the leaders of their states, with which the USSR has the friendliest relations. He stressed once again the importance of the activity of the "Group of Six," which enjoys recognized prestige among the world public and in the international community of states.

'Top Priority' Focuses on Sino-Soviet Relations

LD2005170889 Moscow in English to North America
2300 GMT 19 May 89

["Top Priority" program, presented by Pavel Kuznetsov]

[Excerpts] How do you do, ladies and gentlemen, welcome to "Top Priority." I'm Pavel Kuznetsov, your host, and together with me in the studio are doctors Radomir Bogdanov, and Sergey Plekhanov, who is just back from a short visit to the United States. Welcome back Sergey.

[Plekhanov] Thank you.

[Kuznetsov] After almost 30 years of fears, tension, mutual vilification, and even border clashes, the Soviet Union and China have normalized relations. As a result of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit there, and his talks with the Chinese leaders we're going to see a rapid expansion of all sorts of ties and contacts. For example, there will be exchanges between the two parties, there will be a growth in the field of economy, and even perhaps the military will get together and discuss the border situation and other issues of mutual interest. Now, what do you think may be the impact of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit to China, and why did the two countries stress that their new relationship is not directed against any third country? Is it because now that they are less preoccupied with each other they can turn their attention to other spots in the world—Dr Bogdanov?

[Bogdanov] Yes, this is a very good question. Why, why....

[Kuznetsov, interrupting] [Word indistinct] may I ask you a question?

[Bogdanov] Yes, but I would like to answer your last question, which to my mind is the most important one because the two, the biggest, maybe one-third of the population of this earth are again getting together, normalizing its relationship. What does it mean for the rest of the world? And of course I understand how United States and U.S. audience is reacting to that and I can of course guess, and I can suspect that you have quite a number of opinions in the United States about what does it mean. So, if you judge all that by the new standards of the new thinking, first of all by the basic of basics of the new thinking, which are first of all interdependence of the world, first you cannot think in confrontational terms. You cannot normalize relations with your neighbors or faraway countries just to strengthen your alliance or to be more powerful to talk from the position of strength with the other country. No, you are normalzing now just to normalize your own situation in the world.

And to make the environment, the world environment more benign because you are interested in the interdependence. And of course, if China and the USSR did it, that would be very positive for the whole of the world. By the way....

[Kuznetsov, interrupts] Is it a positive development because this political rapprochement was accompanied by troop reductions on both sides, by China and the Soviet Union?

[Bogdanov] First of all, just, I would like, yes, I just would like to mention that the two parties talked about the demilitarization of the whole Chinese border, Soviet-Chinese border, what does it mean? This is 7,500 km. This is a huge part of the land. And can you imagine that would be demilitarized. Means what? First of all....

[Kuznetsov interrupts] They also discussed the collective security in Asia and the Pacific.

[Bogdanov] Collective, yes, that view in fact on the Pacific area as a whole. And what is the Pacific area? This is Japan, this is the United States, this is all the smaller countries. I believe this is a very positive contribution to the whole, you know, to the whole situation in the region. Even from that point of view this is very good development. Now, if you judge by the American official reaction to that, for instance, what Secretary Baker said at his last press conference, I believe that in the responsible American quarters people are quite understanding what is, this is not dangerous for....

[Kuznetsov interrupts] They describe it as a healthy, healthy event]

[Bodganov] Healthy event.

[Kuznetsov] My question to you Sergey: The Soviet Union and China are not the only powers in this huge, in this vast region. We already mentioned the United States, which we must admit has legitimate interests, and plays an important leadership role. We also have Japan. According to a recent report Japan is rearming in the sense that it's investing heavily into many futuristic, dubious technologies, and it leads the United States, for example, in six to eight major key areas. How do you think this visit may effect, what kind of an impact it may have on this huge and very important area?

[Plekhanov] I think it's going to have a positive impact because the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations is an important step toward really restructuring the international security system in the Pacific. The existing system, to the extent that there is any such system, is a vestige of the cold war because it was basically laid out during the period of confrontation between the East and West, in which the United States and Japan were lined up against China and the Soviet Union.

[Kuznetsov] So, there's a system of confrontation.

[Plekhanov] That was a system of confrontation, that's what traditional thinking is based upon. Now that system, the old cold war arrangement in the Pacific is way out of touch and out of line with the realities of the region, because the real problems there have to do not with military confrontation, not with the arms race, but with the needs for the development of the countries in the area. And that means China, that means the Soviet Union, it means a lot of smaller countries in the Pacific, and of course, time has come to cast a fresh look at what's happening in the Pacific—what are the needs of this growing, probably the most important area of the world in the decades to come, and to do it on a collective, peaceful basis. To have a multilateral dialogue, including the Soviet Union, the United States, Japan, and China, and normalization of relations between USSR and China removes one of the sources of instability, tension, arms build-up, because the point of that normalization is that the conflict which has existed between the two countries for 30 years has now been removed.

[Kuznetsov] The visit of our leader to China took place amid huge, massive demonstrations of students, workers, and other people for political freedoms, reforms, and human rights. Of course those demonstrations we know began before the visit. But, nevertheless, being a symbol of radical political transformations throughout the socialist community, not necessarily in eastern Europe, but in Asia as well, Mikhail Gorbachev, his visit and perestroyka in general, were linked to this turmoil. What do you think about this?

[Bogdanov] Well, my question is that you just now said that it was, those demonstrations started well before his visit. So it means that Gorbachev and his party, they knew these demonstrations and they made up their minds that they should go there. Why, why?

[Kuznetsov] You mean that he did not cancel the visit?

[Bogdanov] He did not cancel the visit, but of course the Soviet embassy informed him and the party that you have quite a turmoil there [words indistinct] thousands and thousands of students. So, but he went there. What does it mean? First of all it means that we looked upon that as their domestic business which has nothing to do with us and China, Chinese leadership has to handle that, that is their business, number one. Number two, we, I believe that we looked upon that as some, well, very normal, if you like, very normal, very ordinary, ordinary in the sense that it may take place anywhere now [words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] It's taking place in the Soviet Union.

[Bogdanov] It's taking place [words indistinct].

[Kuznetsov] It was not for nothing that Mikhail Gorbachev said something about there being hotheads who demand political reforms overnight in both countries, not only in the Soviet Union and China, but elsewhere.

[Bogdanov] Exactly, exactly. This is a normal part of the political life in any socialist country. This is very healthy.

[Kuznetsov] These days.

[Bogdanov] These days this is very healthy. That's how I look at that, and I believe that it was quite, very smart you know, very smart step from our side that we went over there.

[Kuznetsov] Do you have anything else to add to that?

[Plekhanov] Well, I think that the democratic upheaval in China is a positive development, but the point which I would like to stress is that normalization of relations between the USSR and China is good for the development of normal democratic processes inside the society, in other words....

[Kuznetsov interrupts] [Words indistinct] Chinese society, or Soviet society?

[Plekhanov] In both societies, because the less fear of the outside world, the more normal relations with the outside world, the greater freedom there is for all kinds of opinions to be expressed and political activities, and so on. The cold war and the tensions put dampers on what people can do inside society. In that sense I think there is a symbolic linkage between this normalization between the USSR and China, and now the normalization of relations between Chinese leadership....

[Kuznetsov interrupting] Now that we have, yes, yes.

[Plekhanov interrupting] And the radicals who are clamoring for democratic change.

Now that we have buried the hatchet I think we can devote much more attention to learning the experience of China in economic reforms, because I understand Mikhail Gorbachev has admitted that China is far ahead of us in that field. [passage omitted]

[Kuznetsov] Gentlemen, as time is running out on us I'd like to touch on what I think is a very important issue, and I'd like to go back to our leader, Mikhail Gorbachev, who, as everybody admits, has played a pivotal crucial role in reshaping Soviet relations with so many nations across the globe. In fact, he's so popular that a recent NEW YORK TIMES/CBS public opinion poll found out that only 26 percent of Americans currently believe that the Soviet Union poses a threat to the United States.

[Bogdanov interrupts] [Words indistinct]

[Kuznetsov] So, on the grass-roots level he is a focus of admiration, but if we go to the level of policy-making officials there's a good deal of caution not because Gorbachev stops being trustworthy or honest, or he does not command respect as a skilled politician, just because he stands alone (?and now is seen) as a politican with nobody even near him in popularity, and authority, and....

[Bogdanov, interrupts] This is not serious.

[Kuznetsov] The conclusion is, let me finish, the conclusion is that the situation is not stable, that the situation is a little bit vulnerable in the sense that so much hinges on just one man, not only in Sino-Soviet relations, Soviet-American relations, but in other areas. What do you think about that? You said it was not serious.

[Bogdanov] This is not serious, how you can imagine that such a huge country as we are can be brought to such changes just by one man. First of all, he should have a team. Team which goes down from the top.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, he does have a team, but the only man we know is Mikhail Gorbachev.

[Bogdanov] Yes, but what I mean is his position, you know, this is his position as president of the country, as the general secretary of the Communist Party, he is visible because, he is most visible because of his position. Does it mean that he is alone? Or you look at United States. You have always American president, very much visible, but you have all his cabinet members, not very much visible. We also can say look at the Americans, they have only Mr Bush, and nobody else.

[Kuznetsov] Yes, but they have, they have a very powerful legislative branch.

[Bogdanov] But, that's the point I'm going to mention, that on the 25 May you will have a very powerful new player in the politics in this country. A new Supreme Soviet, which is a decision-making body, which is politics-making body, which will outlay the basics of our foreign and domestic policy. So, I believe this is quite a normal political development.

[Kuznetsov] What is your final statement on this one, we almost have no time?

[Plekhanov] I think that those who banked on the weakness of Mikhail Gorbachev have not been successful, so one should better bank on his strength.

USSR Discussions With PRC, U.S., FRG Viewed

LD2205004689 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1400 GMT 21 May 89

[From the "International Panorama" program, presented by Nikolay Shishlin]

[Text] All that has been said is very serious, of course. It seems to me that the summit, the Soviet-Chinese summit, signifies the development of new ideas of socialism as a social formation. It extends our ideas of a socialist system. The time of fixed models of a socialist society are a thing of the past. Today dogma, stereotypes, and set patterns are giving way to daring ideas and practical experience, but we cannot fail to mention that China is boiling. The student uprisings are continuing, the demonstrations by students, and not only by students. The four modernizations policy, which is connected with the third CPC Central Committee Plenum, has itself provided the socialist development of China with a great deal, but the demonstrators are demanding a speeding up of the movement, first and foremost in the sphere of democratization. [video shows student demonstrations in Beijing and students being visited by Zhao Ziyang]

In the United States at this time the results of U.S. Secretary of State Baker's visit to Moscow, the results of his talks with Eduard Amvrosiyevich Shevardnadze and his conversation with Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev are being discussed in a lively manner. On the whole, Americans are evaluating the results of this visit positively and are talking, quite rightly, about the renewal of a full-scale dialogue with Moscow. I think that some kind of new detail in the Moscow talks was the adoption of the joint statement on Lebanon and the accord on joint action in the Barents and Chukotka seas in the event of an ecological mishap. That is a new and constructive note.

Incidentally, because I have already mentioned the word constructive, I note that other major problems connected with Soviet-U.S. relations also were discussed in a constructive key, although there simply were no fascinating ideas at all in the U.S. secretary of state's political baggage. It must be said that the Americans are reacting sluggishly to the Soviet initiatives, including our proposals regarding tactical nuclear weapons. It looks as if the present U.S. Administration is trying to gain the favor of the right wing conservative forces, and although it is gravitating toward a central position, it seeks a center somewhere closer to the right wing, but in any event the talks on strategic offensive weapons will be resumed soon. Talks on conventional arms and armed forces in Europe are already in progress. Talks on chemical weapons should be resumed. So, we will have to wait and see how things go.

Now it is European concerns, European affairs that are coming to the fore, and I am talking first and foremost about the forthcoming summit meeting, the Soviet-West German meeting. I think that now we are approaching the moment when a new quality may emerge in Soviet-German relations, and I think that this meeting, in itself, readily becomes part and parcel of those efforts, those energetic actions our country is undertaking in the sphere of forming conceptions and the implementation of these conceptions of a common European home, of which the Federal Republic of Germany, which is marking its 40th anniversary, should, of course, be an integral part.

Further on Petrovskiy News Conference on Ecology

LD1905140189 Moscow TASS in English 1314 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 19 TASS—"In its stance on the environmental protection problem the Soviet Union proceeds from the premise that nature conservation is the all-important component of global security", said Vladimir Petrovskiy. The Soviet deputy foreign minister today spoke at a news conference devoted to ecological security.

Petrovskiy noted that the removal of the existing ecological threat brooked no delay. Energetic actions should be taken within the framework of multilateral, regional, bilateral and unilateral mechanisms. In this regard, he informed journalists about the USSR's latest initiatives in this field. Pointing out that ecological disasters do not respect borders, Petrovskiy said that cooperation in nature conservation is incompatible with double standards, selective approach and concealment of scientific-technical advances.

Fyodor Morgun, chairman of the USSR State Committee for Nature Conservation, said that several legislative acts are currently being drafted in the Soviet Union, which are meant to place nature conservation under stringent state control. The planned measures will make environmental pollution unprofitable and force industrial plants to be converted to ecologically clean technologies.

Responding to the question on the further fate of the Volga-Chograi Canal, Alexey Yablokov, a corresponding member of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, said that a resolution of the Soviet Government on improving the ecological situation in the lower reaches of the Volga and in northern part of the Caspian Sea will soon be enacted. As for the Volga-Chograi Canal, its construction was suspended till next autumn. "I regard this as a half-measure. The construction of the canal should not be resumed", Yablokov stressed.

The chairman of the USSR State Committee for Hydrometeorology was asked about measures being taken to salvage the Aral Sea. To replenish the Aral Sea with water, Yuriy Israel said, it is planned to use drainage waters of irrigation systems, which will be returned to the Syr-Darya and Amu-Darya Rivers through the drainage intercepting ditches of the operating canals. An additional twenty cubic kilometres of water will be diverted to the Aral yearly. The possibility of collecting precipitation in highland areas of Central Asia is also under study. This water will also flow to the Aral Sea through the Syr-Darya and Amu-Darya Rivers.

Andrey Gagarinskiy, deputy director of the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute, commented on the reports on animals' genetic mutations discovered in some areas of the Ukraine and Belorussia and allegedly caused by the accident at the Chernobyl nuclear power station.

The data of the conducted research show that mutations were caused by the excessive use of fertilizers and improper zootechnical measures. Gagarinskiy dismissed as ungrounded the rumours that the fourth unit reactor of the Chernobyl nuclear power station continues to emit radioactive radiation. Systematic monitoring of the state of this reactor shows that earlier apprehensions of a chain reaction in the reactor were unfounded.

Public Humanitarian Cooperation Commission Formed

LD1205161989 Moscow TASS in English 1450 GMT 12 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 12 TASS—A new public commission for humanitarian cooperation within the framework of the conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe has been formed in the USSR. The commission's constituent meeting was held at the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries today.

The new public commission will promote realisation of the Vienna accords in the sphere of humanitarian cooperation and human dimension, first deputy chairman of the Presidium of the Union of Soviet Societies of Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries Oleg Ivanitskiy said.

Public representatives can make an inestimable contribution to consolidation and expansion of the humanitarian breakthrough made at the Vienna meeting within the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, former head of the USSR delegation at the forum, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary Yuriy Kashlev said at the meeting.

An appeal to the Soviet and foreign public has been passed by the members of the commission which includes prominent Soviet diplomats, lawyers, journalists, public figures, religious leaders and workers in culture. Speakers called for promotion broader human contacts, development on a bilateral and multilateral basis of intenational cooperation in science and education, cultural and youth exchanges.

The new commission's first initiative has been the proposal to organize and hold forums of the public of the countries parties to the conference on security and cooperation in Europe, in parallel with conferences at a governmental level within the framework of the conference on human dimension, envisaged by the Vienna document.

Canadian Professor Cited on USSR Restructuring

PM2305122789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Legal Experts' Discussion"]

[Text] Kiev, 20 May—The international law readings "Socialism and Human Rights" ended here today with the adoption of scientific and practical recommendations on human rights problems.

Discussion centered on a package of questions of shaping a socialist rule-of-law state and the concept of human rights, ensuring freedom of conscience and international humanitarian cooperation in the conditions of restructuring, and a series of other problems.

The issues we discussed, H. Fisher, professor of political sciences at Canada's Acadia University, said, are of major importance not only for the USSR but also for other countries. The West is intently following the changes occurring in the Soviet Union. I visited Moscow and Kiev 3 years ago. Now I saw for myself how far restructuring has gone in its advance.

Asian Cultural Figures Meet in Ashkhabad

18001064 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA in Russian 18 May 89 p 2

[Article by V. Meleshenko and Yu. Borisov: "For Peace and Security in Asia"]

[Text] **An international meeting is being held in Ashkhabad under the motto: "Cultural Figures of Asia for Peace and Mutual Understanding."**

Approximately 30 visible cultural figures from 12 countries of the Near and Middle East, the Soviet republics of Central Asia and Kazakhstan, as well as representatives of the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization, the World Peace Council and the Soviet Committee for the Defense of Peace participated in the conference, actively discussing concrete paths of cooperation with the aim of settling regional difficulties and solving global problems.

The meeting's participants emphasize that the new approaches to the resolution of the region's vital problems should be developed on the basis of a priority of general human values above any others, including religious values.

"At one time, the caravans on the Great Silk Route carried from China to Europe not only silk but the historical experience of 30 peoples," said the well-known Kazakh writer Anuar Alimzhanov. "In observance of the continuity of the traditions of the East, let us think about the future of civilization on earth, which is threatened by ecological and nuclear destruction." Many of the meeting's participants feel that broad and public solutions to the problems of disarmament and development are the prerogative of every country, and not just of the great powers. At the same time, many of the speeches contained a high evaluation of the foreign policy course of the present Soviet leadership. "It is not the quality of the armaments but the quality of the policy, new thinking, which leads us to mutual understanding," said states Egyptian publicist Saad (Al-Fatayiri). Emil Habibi, one of the leaders of the "Peaceful Treaty of Writers," continues that thought: "The course of changes in the USSR are closely followed in the East as well as in the West. Restructuring is already having a positive influence on the situation in Asia."

It is known that the strengthening of positive tendencies in Asia and in all the world is a subject on the agenda for the Soviet-Chinese negotiations in Beijing. "I feel that the visit of the Soviet leader to China is extremely timely," says Indian theater director Habib Tanvir. "My country is also fighting for peace and prosperity on the Asian subcontinent. Rajiv Gandhi has already visited China. I am certain that the Soviet-Chinese dialog in Beijing will strengthen our hopes."

As people's artist Izzat Klychev, the chairman of the Turkmen republic Committee for the Defense of Peace, emphasized in conversation with the SOVETSKAYA KULTURA correspondents, the goal of the Ashkhabad meeting is peacemaking. There is no more noble task for artists on our troubled planet than the tireless struggle to strengthen mutual understanding, trust and good neighborly relations among peoples. The meeting in Ashkhabad will undoubtedly have an effect on the fortification of artists' creative and purely human contacts.

USSR To Join Bern Copyright Convention

18001035 Moscow SOVETSKAYA KULTURA
in Russian 13 May 89 p 2

[Article by I. Kartashova: "The Author Has the Right...."]

[Text] **The Soviet Union is preparing to join the Bern convention for protection of literary and artistic works.**

It is no secret to any creative worker that Soviet copyright legislation is extremely far from perfect. It is drawn up in such a way that many categories of artists still have limited rights to their creative work and what happens to it. And even the decree adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers a half year ago concerning regulating the rates for authorial remuneration (about which SOVETSKAYA KULTURA wrote in December of last year) did not change much.

We are building a rule-of-law state. Changes are being earmarked in the area of protection of creative work. A new edition of one of the sections of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] civil code pertaining to authorial rights is being prepared. It has been a long time in preparation, several years now, but we shall not be too hard on its creators because—there are too many nuances here and too many organizations involved.

Representatives of the World Organization for the Protection of Intellectual Property (WOPIP) who perform administrative functions of the Bern union for protection of works of literature and art were guests of the All-Union Copyright Agency recently. They included the director of the department of authorial rights and communications with the public, Henri Ulsson and the chief of the legal department Mikhay Fichor. They came to learn about the draft of the new legislation which should correspond to the basic provisions of the Bern convention if our country intends to join it.

What will joining the convention do for the Soviet Union? H. Ulsson answers this question:

"The Bern convention is the largest copyright law organization, which includes 82 countries. The USSR has great achievements in various areas of creative activity which inevitably reach the world market. This makes it necessary to bring Soviet legislation in line with the new requirements of real life. Provisions like this do not stand still. And this is natural, because new kinds of intellectual activity are appearing and they make their own adjustments. Thus even a couple of years ago there were no such concepts as computer programs, satellite communications, videos, and so forth. Now they exist, and practically all countries have to make changes in their laws concerning the protection of authorial rights. In the Bern convention a plan of measures has been developed for 2 years. It is directed toward improvement of the system for protection of intellectual property—life is forcing us to do this. In order to influence this process it is necessary to be a member of this convention."

So when the work on the draft of the new legislation is completed will our country also be able to join the community of countries for authorial rights as a full-fledged member?

This question is answered by the deputy chairman of the board of VAAP [All-Union Copyright Agency], G. Kondakov:

"The work is coming to an end. We are hoping that the draft will be completed in the near future and submitted for the judgment of the people's deputies. One must take into account that the procedure for adopting a new law is generally very complicated, and especially in this case since there are so many interested parties. But we should like to hope that the new edition of the 4th section of the civil code will be adopted, and then it will be possible to rapidly prepare documents concerning entry into the Bern convention."

"According to your personal predictions, when can this take place?"

"I think that all the procedures will take approximately a year."

United States & Canada

U.S. To Resume START; Baker on NATO Role

LD2305174489 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Washington, 23 May (TASS)—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker reported today that in accordance with the achieved accord, talks between the USSR and the United States on strategic forces will resume on 19 June.

With the announcement of the resumption of Soviet-U.S. talks, at which the question of a 50-percent reduction of the strategic arsenals of the USSR and the United States is being discussed, J. Baker began a special briefing in the White House devoted to the upcoming meeting in Brussels of heads of states and government of NATO member countries. The secretary of state detailed the aims and tasks which the Washington administration is setting itself at this meeting. He stressed that the "cornerstone" on which the NATO bloc is based remains the "community of values" shared by the Western countries.

This concept of the West's "community of values," as testified by several recent speeches by President Bush and Secretary of State Baker, is being submitted by Washington as a counterbalance to the Soviet concept of creating a "common European home," and in order to justify the need to preserve the military-political bloc of NATO. Not by chance, in his statement in the White House, J. Baker asserted that "NATO has turned into a shield to protect these common values." As is known, on Monday the Warsaw Pact participant states once again addressed a call to the NATO member countries on a simultaneous dissolution of both military-political alliances by way of one of the steps in order to overcome the continuing division of Europe into opposing military blocs. However, in today's speech the secretary of state stressed the intention of the U.S. Administration to maintain the defense capability of NATO at a high level as one of the elements of White House policy with regard to Europe.

Bush Speech Shows U.S. 'Difficult Partner'

18070641 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 20, 20-26 May 89 p 6

[Commentary by D. Makarov: "The U.S. President's Speech: For and Against"]

[Text] *In our press recently there have been rather sharp commentaries regarding the speech of U.S. President G. Bush on 12 May, which was devoted to Soviet-American relations. Certain journalists think that it was written "according to old formulas." ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent D. Makarov, who is accredited under the USSR MFA [Ministry of Foreign Affairs], asked one of the officials of the USSR MFA who specializes in the area of Soviet-American relations to comment on the President's speech.*

Indeed, in both the content and the tone of the aforementioned speech by G. Bush there are elements that demand criticism—and they have received it. But still, when analyzing the speech one cannot but take into account that it was made by none other than the President of the United States, who is operating within the framework of certain political convictions, traditions, and conventions. And one more circumstance: American politicians—such is the peculiarity of their style—when speaking about other countries frequently lapse into moralizing, and they sometimes have nothing against being insulting. It would seem that this is one of the reasons for the rather widespread anti-imperialism in the world.

When reading speeches by American public figures it is important to see what lies behind the barricade of ritualistic phrases.

G. Bush says: "We are striving to integrate the Soviet Union into the community of nations." Linking this to the Soviet Union's progress "toward greater openness and democratization" and also our "responsible international behavior," he promises to respond to the actions of the Soviet Union with analogous steps on the part of the United States.

Of course it is possible to semantically dispute this phrase. And one can see in it a maturing understanding of the world. And is it not a striving for greater openness and democratization, for responsible international behavior that characterizes our policy? It is also important that the U.S. President has committed himself to taking responsive steps.

We must not underestimate G. Bush's statement of his desire for "friendship with the Soviet Union free of suspicion and mistrust."

In keeping with his vision of the world, G. Bush calls for the Soviet Union to take "positive steps": to reduce our Armed Forces, to break the "Iron Curtain," to engage in diplomatic regulation of regional conflicts, to achieve a "durable political pluralism and respect for human rights," and to work with the United States on solving crucial global problems.

Of course, one can be "offended" by the President: He is making more demands! But one can also see here a program of joint action, although it is presented in specific "Americanized" form. Actually what is there in G. Bush's "challenge" that contradicts our proposals for arms reduction, our concept of a "common European home," the constructive line of the USSR in regulating regional conflicts and democratization of Soviet society, and, finally, the active policy of the Soviet Union, which is directed toward increasing international efforts to solve human problems?

The speech of the U.S. President is criticized both here and abroad for the fact that he did not give a worthy response to the large-scale initiatives of the Soviet leader.

Does this mean that G. Bush's 12 May speech marks a "recoil" to the times of the Cold War? I do not think so. To a greater degree it illustrates that the United States is a difficult partner and that the forthcoming work for restructuring international relations will be difficult. The speech shows also that the words and deeds of the Soviet Union are finding a response. G. Bush, recalling the handshake at the Elbe, announced: "We are again ready to extend our hand. A time of peace has come again." "A time of peace"—this was the exact name of the first collection of speeches by M.S. Gorbachev published in the United States in 1985. And it is good that the new U.S. President ended his speech devoted to relations with our country with precisely these words.

U.S. Soviet Policy Full of 'Contradictions'

LD2305225889 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 23 May 89

[Commentary by observer Spartak Alekseyev]

[Text] Now our observer Spartak Alekseyev considers what's new in the policy of the Washington Administration:

[Alekseyev] Moscow and many other capitals in both East and West spent several months waiting for President Bush's administration to formulate its foreign policy course. Of course, everybody was primarily interested to learn how Washington would develop relations with the Soviet Union, something the problem of security heavily depends on. At last the world learned about these intentions from the United States President himself. As he spoke at the University of Texas [word indistinct] President Bush said though his hopes were high that Europe would become a more peaceful continent, one shouldn't expect too much. The American Prsident warned the West against being too optimistic. He said that in relations with the Soviet Union, reasonable caution must be displayed and that the West in general should be on the alert as before, because, he said, it was NATO's deterrence potential that had preserved peace for decades.

This vision of the current world situation implies that Western Europe needs a modernization of its short-range nuclear arms. This is precisely what the American President called for while professing the United States' intention to see to it that Europe be less militarized.

It follows from Mr Bush's warning that to contain its optimism the West should reject talks with the Soviet Union and Warsaw Treaty on a reduction in or the complete elimination of short-range nuclear arms. Alongside this, President Bush claimed that no other than the United States had insisted on the resumption of strategic arms talks, although in reality the proposal was made by Moscow.

One gets the impression that the reconsidered version of the United States' foreign policy consists of flagrant contradictions. One should add one more factor—the new administration's attitude to changes in the USSR. President Bush said that although he was optimistic about the recent developments in the Soviet Union, it was still very unclear whether the new thinking had phased out the old one. For that reason he called for containing optimism and assuming the wait-and-see tactics, hoping for an ideological earthquake in the communist world.

It is evident that such concepts have little or nothing new about them. In effect, the Bush administration has been looking not so much forward as backward and following in the footsteps of the Reagan administration of the early period, when Washington tended to see the Soviet Union as an enemy rather than a partner. Anyway, only joint efforts can do away with outdated views and reform all standards in world politics. The epoch-making Soviet-U.S. treaty on eliminating intermediate-range nuclear missiles was the product of such efforts. Mutual desire to reconsider cold war concepts has brought about a significant improvement in Soviet-British relations. Joint efforts by Moscow and Beijing have given a new start to friendly ties between the Soviet Union and China after 30 years of estrangement. The desire to meet each other halfway is seen in Soviet-West German relations, too.

The world community, President Gorbachev said during his recent trip to Britain, is at a crossroads. It is faced with options: One is power politics—it's rooted in the past; the other has only been taking shape—the priority of common human values and interests are its imperatives. Neither sitting on the fence, nor reasonable caution, nor the modernization of old arms and ways of thinking will help formulate that policy.

U.S. Military Group Visits Leningrad Academy

PM2305092189 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Report by unnamed TASS correspondent: "U.S. Servicemen Visit Academy"]

[Text] Leningrad—The Marshal of the Soviet Union A.A. Grechko Naval Academy has been visited by a delegation of representatives of U.S. Armed Forces' military training establishments. The visitors familiarized themselves with the training system for USSR Navy command cadres.

At a meeting with the academy's teaching staff there was a lively exchange of opinions on topical questions of the current state of Soviet-U.S. relations and the advances made in establishing contacts between the two countries' armed forces. The delegation was shown a documentary on the history and life of the academy. The visitors toured the museum and inspected the training complex.

The delegation head, Lieutenant General B. Khosmer [name as transliterated], president of the U.S. national defense university, thanked the academy command for its hospitality and noted the high degree of openness in which the meeting had taken place.

Armenians Leave for U.S. To Purchase Equipment

NC1705145789 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 16 May 89

[Text] Yerevan, 12 May (ARMENPRES)—An Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic delegation, lead by Levon Saakyan, deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers, has left for the United States to conduct negotiations on the purchase of industrial equipment.

Garlen Dallakyan, chairman of the Committee for Cultural Ties with Armenians Abroad, and Vasili Khazaryan, director of the Armenian Council of Ministers' Foreign Trade Department, are members of the delegation.

During the negotiations the delegation will try to obtain assembly line equipment for meat and milk processing. It will also seek to purchase stonecutting machinery, equipment for a factory for the production of disposable syringes, and other technological equipment.

Armand Hammer Cited on U.S.-USSR Relations

PM1605083389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 12 May 89 Second Edition p 7

[TASS report: "Crucial Period"]

[Text] San Francisco, 11 May—Relations between the United States and the Soviet Union are now going through a crucial period. The fate not only of the U.S. and the Soviet peoples but also of the whole world and the resolution of global and regional problems largely depend on their further development. This was the opinion expressed by Armand Hammer, prominent U.S. businessman and public figure and chairman of the board of directors of the Occidental Petroleum Company.

Restructuring in the Soviet Union and the Soviet leadership's policy of glasnost in both domestic and international affairs are changing the political climate in the world from confrontation to cooperation. The new thinking is making its way into the consciousness of millions of people, including in the United States, he emphasized in an interview with a TASS correspondent.

At the same time, Hammer continued, the impressive program of the peaceful restructuring of international relations advanced from the UN rostrum by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, and also the USSR's unilateral initiatives in the sphere of disarmament and of switching its economy to an exclusively peaceful footing have opened up a magnificent opportunity for a fundamental breakthrough in the development of Soviet-U.S. relations in all areas. But this applies primarily to the reduction of strategic arsenals and efforts to deliver mankind from the nuclear threat.

At the same time the U.S. businessman pointed out that since coming to power the Bush administration has displayed excessive caution and been in no hurry to actively resume the U.S.-Soviet political dialogue. This approach, Hammer believes, is a kind of tribute by the U.S. President to the influential supporters of continuing the "tough policy" with regard to the USSR, of whom there are still quite a few in the United States. However, the current visit to Moscow by U.S. Secretary of State Baker and the statements made by the Soviet side during the first day of his talks are reassuring. I would like to hope that the Moscow talks will not only lead to the resumption in the very near future of the talks on nuclear and space arms, on underground nuclear explosions, and on the prohibition of chemical weapons, but will also lay the foundations for another Soviet-U.S. summit meeting, which would result in the conclusion of a treaty on a 50-percent reduction in strategic offensive arms, Hammer emphasized.

For, he went on to say, when Bush was formulating policy with regard to the USSR, he was forced to take into account not only the position of "hawks," but also the realities of the modern world, as well as the fact that the Soviet leader and his policy enjoy tremendous popularity and the support of the international public, including Americans. This also applies equally to the question of the start of talks with the Soviet Union on eliminating tactical nuclear weapons in Europe—which the White House opposes and which has become the subject of sharp debates within NATO, Hammer pointed out.

He is convinced that the United States would not only lose nothing by such talks, but also gain considerably both in the sphere of strengthening national security and in the sphere of confidence in itself on the part of its West European allies and the peoples of Europe, who demand to be delivered from nuclear weapons. In addition, as the implementation of the Treaty on Intermediate-Range and Shorter-Range Missiles has shown in practice, the United States and the USSR have elaborated a reliable and efficient mechanism for verifying the fulfillment of agreements of this kind, which could also be used in the destruction of tactical nuclear arms, Hammer pointed out.

Such steps will enable the United States to save many billions of dollars being spent on the nuclear arms race and channel them into resolving such acute problems as, for example, the huge federal budget deficit, the businessman pointed out. This, according to him, would also be greatly helped by the fullest development of economic and trade relations with the Soviet Union. There is tremendous interest in such cooperation in U.S. business circles, he emphasized, because they see real mutual advantage in a sharp increase in commodity exchange and the creation of joint ventures. Restructuring and transformations in the Soviet economy are opening up excellent prospects for this.

Hammer compared the present period in the USSR's development with the time when Vladimir Ilich Lenin was launching the New Economic Policy in order to revive the country and defend the revolution. As is known, it was then that the young U.S. businessman had a meeting with the founder of the Soviet state.

Bush 'Has No Intention of Changing' Cuba Policy

PM2405120589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Views Not Changing"]

[Text] Washington, 23 May—President G. Bush delivered a speech on Monday in which he stressed that the United States has no intention of changing its current approach to Cuba.

Addressing Americans of Cuban descent, united in their hostility to and hatred of socialist Cuba, who had been invited to the White House, the President said that he wanted to "completely rebut the fantastic conjecture" and the suppositions voiced by some people that the incumbent U.S. Administration "intends to unilaterally change relations with Fidel Castro." "I have no intention of doing that, and I am glad that you are hearing this straight from me," G. Bush said. The President's statement, which by all indications reflected the conclusions drawn by the administration on the basis of its 3-month analysis of U.S. foreign policy, contained a whole series of demands on the Cuban Government which, in Washington's opinion, it should satisfy in order to "deserve" its favor.

"Until we see some of these changes I have mentioned," G. Bush affirmed, "we will continue to oppose Cuba's reinstatment as a member of the OAS." The President also promised that the United States will not only continue broadcasts from its special anti-Cuban radio stations, but will also "push through the proposal" regarding the organization of a similar direct-broadcasting television center.

Baker Gives Speech on U.S. Mideast Policy

LD2305110889 Moscow TASS in English 1046 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Washington May 23 TASS—U.S. Secretary of State James Baker addressed on Monday the 30th annual policy conference of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee (AIPAC)—a public organisation that is one of the U.S.A.'s most powerful pro-Israeli lobbyist groups. In his speech Baker set out the principles of the U.S. stand on the problem of settling the Arab-Israeli conflict. Baker's remarks were made against the background of the visit to the United States by Israeli Defence Minister Yitzhaq Rabin, who already held talks with U.S. Secretary of Defence Richard Cheney on Monday, met with the U.S. secretary of state on the same day, and who will have talks with President Bush on Wednesday.

Having stated that he "was proud to work in the Reagan administration—an administratiion that recognised the importance of United States-Israeli strategic cooperation," Baker said that both President Bush and he believe "that on these issues there can only be on policy, and that is a policy of continuity."

"American support for Israel is the foundation of our approach to the problems—the very, very difficult problems of the Middle East," he said. "This support has become all the more important as we approach what I think is a critical juncture in the Middle East."

Baker stated that the United States understands Israel's "caution," especially when assessing "Arab attitudes about peace." "At the same time, I think," he went on to say, "that caution must never become paralysis." He recalled fundamental changes in the present-day world and emphasised that they should not be ignored.

The U.S. secretary of state set out four basic principles on which, in U.S. opinion, the peace process should rest. First, he pointed out that negotiations on a comprehensive settlement should be conducted on the strength of the UN Security Council's resolutions 242 and 338 and take into account the "territory for peace" principle, the recognition for Israel and all of the states of the region, and Palestinian political rights.

Second, for negotiations to succeed, he said, "they must allow the parties to deal directly with each other face-to-face." He added that "a properly structured international conference could be useful at an appropriate time, but only if it did not interfere with or in any way replace or be a substitute for direct talks between the parties."

Third, he went on to say, some transitional period is needed, to allow the parties to take the measure of each other's performance.

Fourth, Baker said, in advance of direct negotiations, neither the United States and nor other party inside or outside can or will dictate an outcome. "That is why," he pointed out, "The United States does not support annexation or permanent Israeli control of the West Bank and Gaza, nor do we support the creation of an independent Palestinian state."

Baker declared for the granting of "self-government" to the Palestinians.

The U.S. secretary of state did not mention even once in his speech the Palestine Liberation Organisation (PLO) without whose participation, in the opinion of an overwhelming majority of countries, there can be no question about any really comprehensive settlement of the Middle East crisis.

Instead, Baker said it was "high time for serious political dialogue between Israeli officials and Palestinians in the territories to bring about a common understanding on these and other issues."

The United States itself is known to have already started a direct dialogue with PLO representatives in Tunis. Baker stated however, that "continuation of the status quo will lead to increasing violence and worsening prospects for peace."

"We think," Baker went on to say, "now is the time to move toward a serious negotiating process."

He urged Arab countries to end the economic boycott of Israel and repudiate the line that "Zionism is racism."

He advised Israel to foreswear annexation of the territories, stop programmes for the establishment of new settlements in the occupied lands and to allow Palestinian schools to reopen.

He called on the Palestinians to "translate the dialogue of violence in the intifadah [uprising] into a dialogue of politics and diplomacy." About 500 Palestinians and 22 Israelis have already died during the Israeli occupation troops' suppression of the uprising.

Touching upon the Soviet Union's approach to the problem of a Mideast settlement, Baker stated that "now is the time to make new thinking a reality as it applies to the Middle East."

He called on the Soviet Union to restore diplomatic ties with Israel. He said the Soviet Union could demonstrate convincingly that it is serious about its approach to a Middle East settlement by stopping the supply of weapons to countries like Libya.

The U.S. secretary of state did not mention the massive supply of weapons by the U.S.A. to Israel which annually receives three billion dollars worth of military and economic aid from Washington.

Soviet Press Reaction to Baker Mideast Speech

U.S. 'New Approach' Noted

PM2305150989 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Unnamed correspondent's dispatch: "Hardline Statements—Noisy Response"]

[Text] Washington—Secretary of State J. Baker's speech at the America-Israel Public Affairs Committee produced a noisy response in the United States. This was the first time that a high-ranking U.S. politician has addressed such a categorical demand to Israel to cease its expansionist policy.

Baker described as unrealistic Israel's course of implementing its plans at the expense of occupied Arab territories, spoke against the creation of new Israeli settlements there, and made sharply negative statements about the idea of a "Greater Israel," emphasizing that it must be "renounced once and for all." Observers described the secretary of state's speech as "very hardline in content and statements." At the same time, it was delivered in a balanced tone, and some of the calls were addressed to Arab countries, specifically the call to recognize the interests of the Israeli state.

Commentaries note that this speech by the leader of the U.S. foreign policy department came about due to a series of causes. First, the new U.S. Administration is being criticized by political circles, and mainly by Congress, for still not having formulated a specific Near East policy taking realities into account. Washington was recently visited by leaders of Israel and a whole series of Arab countries, but the outlines of U.S. policy simply failed to emerge clearly during the talks. Baker has evidently tried to amend the situation, proceeding from a balanced approach toward the problems of the Near East region.

The secretary of state's stance can also be attributed to the fact that dissatisfaction with the Israeli authorities' expansionist policy in the occupied West Bank and Gaza Strip is growing in the United States itself, including in circles representing the country's large Jewish community. The excesses committed by Israeli troops, striving to stifle by force the Palestinians' uprising which has already lasted 17 months, are condemned here with special emphasis.

The U.S. press and television express evident dissatisfaction with the Israel leadership's actions. They have joined the general campaign of condemning Tel Aviv also because the occupation authorities obstruct the coverage of events. The picture shown on the screen by CBS-TV, ABC-TV, and other channels present the situation on the West Bank and the Gaza strip in a light that is obviously disadvantageous for Tel Aviv. This is why Israeli patrols block television camera lenses both literally and figuratively.

There is one more aspect on which observers' attention focused. Many elements in the U.S. secretary of state's speech addressed to Israel certainly had a new sound to them. But so far this is no ground to draw any conclusions about any radical change in Washington's stance toward its "strategic ally." It is, nevertheless, clear that the U.S. Administration is striving to present its Near East policy as more balanced. It indicates its intentions to develop relations with the Arab world. A new approach can also be noticed toward the PLO, with whose representatives Washington has established contacts.

On the other hand, speaking against Israel's annexation of the West Bank and the Gaza Strip, J. Baker also spoke against the creation of an independent Palestinian state. Having spoken in favor of the granting of "self-government" to the Palestinians, the secretary of state did not once mention the PLO, without whose participation there can be no question of an all-embracing settlement of the Near East conflict.

U.S. Support for Israel 'Given Blindly'

LD2305171289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1005 GMT 23 May 89

[Commentary by TASS political observer Albert Balebanov]

[Text] Moscow, 23 May—TASS political observer Albert Balebanov writes:

How are the United States and Israel furthering the cause of a settlement in the Middle East? Are they not creating a new deadlock there? These questions inevitably come to mind when you analyze the latest steps taken by Washington and Tel Aviv regarding the Palestinian problem, the key problem in resolving the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The impression is being created that the Bush Administration and Shamir's Cabinet are trying to divert the attention of the world public away from the Palestinians' sufferings in the occupied territories, their struggle for their freedom, and the realistic initiatives of the PLO, which are necessary to lay the foundations for a just and lasting settlement in the region. At the same time, they are trying to impose on the residents of the annexed West Bank of the Jordan and the Gaza Strip the "Shamir peace plan" which envisages the staging of a political farce with elections. It would seem that the real aim of these maneuvers by the United States and Israel boils down to one thing: not permitting the UN resolutions concerning the Middle East to be implemented.

One is struck by the contradictory nature of the statements made by official Washington, which is trying to combine two incompatible things: appealing to Tel Aviv to adhere to resolutions 242 and 338 of the UN Security Council, and support for the "Shamir plan", which is aimed at circumventing these resolutions. It is generally known that this plan aims at preventing the establishment of the independent Palestinian state as a neighbor of Israel, at perpetuating the status of the age-old Palestinian lands as occupied territories, and at keeping the Palestinians as "second rate citizens" of "greater Israel." These goals are poorly disguised by Shamir's demagogery about his "adherence to a policy of peace and dialogue with the Palestinians."

But even in Israel itself many people are calling their premier's plan an "absolutely hollow political gesture." It is hard not to agree with that, since in the election proposals Israel, with Washington in its wake, is ignoring the main parties with whom political dialogue is realistically possible—the PLO, which is the only lawful representative of the Arab people of Palestine.

In its support for Tel Aviv, which has found itself internationally isolated, the United States does not balk even at extreme measures: Just last night Washington foiled the adoption by the Security Council of a statement on the situation in the occupied territories which had been prepared with Great Britian's active participation. This did not fail to immediately draw a sharply negative reaction from UN members, who condemn Washington for trying to paralyze the work of the Security Council.

"U.S. support for Israel is the basis of our approach to Middle Eastern problems," declared James Baker, U.S. secretary of state, addressing members of the American-Israel Public Affairs Committee. It appears, however, that this support is being given blindly, without a sober appraisal of the real situation both in the world and in the Middle East. This seriously damages the efforts for a peaceful settlement in the region and the efforts to convene an international conference on the Middle East under the UN aegis.

China

Rogachev, PRC Diplomat Discuss Gorbachev Visit

LD2205152489 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Soviet Deputy Foreign Minister Igor Rogachev has received China's charge d'affaires, (Zhang Zhen), to tell him that the Soviet leadership has highly assessed the results of the Soviet-Chinese summit in Beijing. A number of proposals was made for coordinating the efforts of the two countries to translate into life the agreements achieved in Beijing. The normalization of relations between the Soviet Union and China was the main result of Mikhail Gorbachev's visit.

Qian Qichen Cited on 'New Type' of USSR Ties

PM2405084789 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 May 89 Single Edition p 3

[Unattributed roundup of foreign media responses to Sino-Soviet Summit: "Permanent Significance"]

[Excerpt] The Soviet-Chinese summit meeting opens up a new stage in relations between our two countries, foreign responses are stressing.

Beijing—We are seeking Soviet-Chinese relations of a new type which correspond to the demands of the modern world, PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen stated in an interview given to Zagreb Television. These relations are based on the Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence, which serve the peoples' interests. These relations are of great significance for stability and peace throughout the world. Our good relations will not harm third countries. [passage omitted]

Reportage on Continuing Beijing Protests

Yang Denies Army To Suppress Students

PM2305145589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Demonstrations Continue"]

[Text] Beijing, 21 May—Demonstrations by the city's youth continued last night in Tiananmen Square, Changan Street, and other parts of the Chinese capital, although it is clear from reports that the majority of students have stopped the hunger strike. Order is being maintained in the square by activists who are urging the participants in the actions to keep calm and exercise restraint. Chains of students are barring access to the front door of the National People's Congress building, the Gugong Museum, and the Zhongnanhai residence.

The XINHUA agency transmitted a statement by a spokesman for the municipal authorities on the question of introducing People's Liberation Army [PLA] units into the capital to implement the objectives of martial law. "Everyone knows," he said, "that the state of anarchy in Beijing has become even worse in recent days. The situation is having a serious effect on work, production, education, and life throughout the city."

In the current specific conditions, he said, an ordinary contingent of police and public safety forces is insufficient to carry out the State Council's martial law order. A certain number of troops has been stationed in several parts of Beijing. This measure was taken with the authorization of the PRC Central Military Council.

Citing PRC Chairman Yang Shangkun, the spokesman for the Beijing authorities denied rumors that "troops had arrived in Beijing to suppress the students. These reports," he stressed, "are totally groundlesss."

At the same time, he confirmed that troops could be stationed near Beijing higher educational establishments to safeguard the "normal activities of teachers, students, and service personnel, ensuring personal safety and protecting property. This is in no way geared to the establishment of military control."

Army Displaying 'Maximum Restraint'

PM2405091189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 23 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Correspondent Yu. Savenkov dispatch under the general rubric "Panorama of International Events": "Beijing, 22 May..."]

[Text] This is the third day since the introduction, by decree of the PRC State Council, of martial law in some parts of Beijing and its outskirts. The troops ordered to put it into effect are still on the approaches to the capital. Serious obstacles have arisen to their entry into the city. According to reports, only a few subunits have occupied key installations in the capital. On Monday morning and throughout the day an appeal from the army headquarters to the population of the city calling for understanding and cooperation, especially on the part of the patriotically-minded students, was read out on radio and television. The army command has declared that its actions will not be directed against students or the citizens. The troops are to assist public security and People's Armed Police units in implementing the decision introducing martial law. "Having come up against difficulties," the appeal says, "military units are displaying maximum restraint." However, the order of the government, the command states, must be implemented and normal life must be restored by means of effective measures. The appeal also states that the army supports the students' struggle against corrupt officials.

Meanwhile, posters have gone up in the city calling for resistance to the implementation of martial law. A spokesman for the Beijing City authorities on Sunday categorically rejected rumors that "the troops have arrived to suppress the students." "Military control? No such task has been set," he stressed.

Beijing Television has just shown the following feature: A correspondent interviews an officer from one of the units on the approaches to the city. "Why did you come?" "To restore order. However, we have been unable to enter the city. The population has blocked our way. We can see that the people sympathize with the students. They are behaving reasonably." "If there are clashes with the students, what will you do?" "We will try to avoid clashes. Yesterday we met with a lack of understanding from the masses. They reviled us. We did not respond..."

The officer also said that on the first day his unit was in the vicinity of the "Gates of Rebirth." It has now retreated. The servicemen did not bring many provisions, but the population is helping them out with food.

On Sunday night a group of students from the Science and Technology University came to Marshal Nie Rongzhen and handed him a letter claiming that Premier Li Peng adopted a very harsh four-point decision on the students. Here is Marshal Nie Rongzhen's reply: "These are nothing but fabrications to which the students should lend no credence." He assured the students that the troops had come to ensure stability in the city and that the students should cooperate with them. Nie Rongzhen called on the students to leave Tiananmen Square and return to their studies, for the sake of national dignity and the restoration of order in the city. Other students sent a similar letter to Marshal Xu Xiangqian and received a similar answer.

Beijing by day and Beijing at night is like two different cities. During the day it is relatively calm, groups of people gathering here and there, reading leaflets, and discussing what is happening. Everyone is worried: How will the situation develop? An inner tension can be felt.

Late at night this tension spills onto the Avenue of Eternal Peace which leads from Tiananmen Square to the approach roads. Columns of people march along with flags, chanting slogans, including antigovernment slogans. A poster on the Academy of Social Sciences building reads: "Support for the students does not mean chaos." A truck with a two-tone siren speeds past, the piercing noise seeming to mesmerize the mass of many thousands of people milling around the square. From time to time sounds of the "Internationale" drift by.

Two days ago the end of the hunger strike was announced over the loudspeakers in the square. However, those who took part in the hunger strike have not left the square. They have just changed the form of their protest. They are now sitting together with the other students surrounded by pickets.

Incidentally, the Beijing streets are controlled by two authorities at the moment. Apart from traffic controllers who calmly man their posts, groups of youngsters with white and red arm bands are directing the traffic. They stop cars, check them, and frequently make them change direction.

Zhang Baifa, Beijing's deputy mayor, has declared that public transport is not functioning in the city mainly because buses and trolleybuses are being used as street barricades by the demonstrators. He appealed to the inhabitants to restore order in transport. (There have been reports that workers at the coal briquette plant were forced to work two shifts because the second shift had not arrived). The deputy mayor also spoke about other problems: Water and electricity could be disconnected unless the situation changes. Problems in the delivery of gas cylinders, diesel fuel, vegetables, eggs, and other food products from the outskirts to the center of Beijing may arise. And, vice versa, it is impossible to transport garbage out of the city. Alarmed managers of companies supplying the most essential goods have appeared on television and appealed to the population for support.

What is the reaction of foreign businessmen currently in Beijing? They are expressing suprise and concern. Iziunichi Tajima, a Japanese businessman whose firm supplies communications equipment and technology said: "The demonstrations have not yet affected business, but the question is how the movement will develop further." Samantha Young, a representative of the "Xerox" company, said: "If the demonstrations develop into social disturbances, the country's economic development will seriously suffer." Most of the foreign businessmen interviewed by correspondents of the CHINA DAILY newspaper declared that they do not want to interfere in China's internal affairs and expressed the hope that the policy of reforms will be continued.

XINHUA has just reported from Toronto that Wan Li, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People Congress, who is in Canada at the moment, touched on the situation concerning the student demonstrations in Beijing when addressing the local Chinese community: "We must resolutely protect the young people's patriotic enthusiasm and at the same time preserve stability and order." He expressed confidence that the government will strike a sensible stance and find a peaceful way of resolving the problem.

'Mass Demonstration' by Intelligentsia

PM2405095589 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 May 89 Single Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Beijing: Continuing Tension"]

[Text] 22 May—A tense situation persists in Beijing. Participants in the student actions continue to control central Tiananmen Square and other very important areas of the city.

Dozens of military trucks are standing in the western part of the capital, where the Shoudu Metallurgical Combine is situated. Around them young activists try to strike up conversations with the servicemen. The road leading to Tiananmen Square is blocked by concrete drainage pipes.

A train with troops who have reportedly come from Chengdu (Sichuan Province) has been parked on one of the tracks of Beijing Station for about a day now. They are forbidden to enter into contact with the Beijingese.

Groups of young people from other provinces continue to arrive with the aim of "supporting the Beijing students."

Public transport remains idle. Piles of rubbish are building up on Tiananmen Square and at Beijing Station and its environs. Many participants in the actions fear epidemics, and people wearing gauze facemasks have appeared on the streets. According to participants in the student actions, a column of tanks, armored personnel carriers, and trucks with infantrymen who arrived, according to reports, by rail from Liaoning and the Nei Mongolian Autonomous Province was halted at night in the northwestern suburbs of Beijing (the Haidian District). After long negotiations between Beijingese and the military units that had arrived, the armored unit turned back and disappeared into the restricted zone of the military camp situated there.

A mass demonstration by the capital's intelligentsia in support of the demands of the students on hunger strike has taken place in the center of the capital. Teachers at higher educational institutions and workers in publishing houses, culture, art, magazines, and newspapers, including journalists from RENMIN RIBAO, GUANGMING RIBAO, GONGREN RIBAO, XINHUA, and ZHONGGUO XINWENSHE, marched in columns. The demonstrators included representatives of the party school and the CPC Central Committee Center for the Study of Party History. They are demanding the creation of a rule-of-law state and the lifting of martial law.

The demonstrations were preceded by a 2-hour rally on Tiananmen Square in which representatives of scientific and creative organizations and well-known cultural figures, writers, and higher education institute professors took part.

1 Million March 23 May

PM2405113989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[TASS reports under the general heading "Situation in Beijing"]

[Text] Beijing, 23 May—Last night and all of today passed without any particular incidents in Beijing. The troops brought in to implement martial law are stationed in rural areas around Beijing and are not attempting to move into the capital. Numerous road blocks were erected at night along all the main highways leading into the city, using trucks, buses, reinforced concrete pipeline, and other building materials. But by morning a large proportion of these barricades had been dismantled by participants in the unrest.

As in previous days, Tiananmen Square is full of young people. Despite a heavy downpour, a massive demonstration of students, young workers, and representatives of other strata of the Beijing population—about a million people in all—moved along the central Changan Street this afternoon. The demonstrators chanted slogans and sang the "Internationale." According to XINHUA, it was the largest demonstration since martial law was announced last Saturday. The overwhelming majority of slogans carried and chanted by the demonstrators, XINHUA wrote, were directed against the main leader of the PRC State Council. Other slogans read: "Withdraw the Troops and Lift Martial Law" and "Defend the Constitution and Guarantee Human Rights."

[Moscow TASS in English at 1837 GMT on 23 May transmits a similar report which adds: "In connection with this report, a group of foreign reporters asked a XINHUA spokesman whether it was a sign of Premier Li Peng's stepping down.

["The spokesman said that the report was an 'objective reflection of the event that took place.'"]

Since Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, announced martial law in a number of regions of Beijing last Saturday, XINHUA stressed, people have been coming out into the streets every day.

The only official portrait of Mao Zedong in the PRC, which is permanently on the gates of the Chinese capital's Tiananmen Square, where the rostrums for the top leadership are located, is covered by a large piece of tarpaulin. The portrait was daubed with paint this afternoon. According to reports from student circles, the two people who did this have been arrested by student activists, who have described this action as provocative.

Today's situation in Beijing is characterized on the whole by its order and organization, which is greater than that witnessed on previous days. Public transport has partially resumed work, traffic is being regulated by the police, the transportation of foodstuffs to markets and stores has increased, and work is being organized at enterprises and institutions.

Once again, subscribers received some of the central newspapers today after a long delay. RENMIN RIBAO devoted the front page to material on the situation in Beijing. In particular, it gave a prominent place to the 21 May speech in Toronto (Canada) by Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress [NPC] Standing Committee, who urged that "young people's patriotic feeling be decisively protected" and underlined the need to resolve the problems that have arisen "in a democratic fashion and on a legal basis." Alongside this, the newspaper published an appeal by Deng Yingchao, the widow of Zhou Enlai, to the students and population of Beijing. She urged the students and everyone living in the capital to trust the party and the people's government and trust the People's Liberation Army, some units of which are being brought into Beijing to "safeguard public order in the city and ensure normal conditions for work, study, and life."

Washington, 23 May—Wan Li, chairman of the NPC Standing Committee, who is in the United States on a 5-day visit at the invitation of the U.S. vice president, has decided to cut short his visit to Washington and return to Beijing. According to UPI, which quotes American officials, Wan Li will be flying back to his country this evening after a meeting with U.S. President G. Bush. The PRC Embassy in the United States has not yet been able to confirm this report.

On Monday Wan Li held talks with Vice President D. Quayle and Secretary of State J. Baker, during which they discussed a number of questions concerning bilateral relations and some international problems.

Students Demand Special NPC Session

LD2405100689 Moscow TASS in English 0957 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Beijing May 24 TASS—By TASS correspondents Andrey Kirillov and Vyacheslav Tomilin:

A new official portrait of Mao Zedong has been put up today morning over the Gates of Heavenly Tranquility (Tiananmen) in the Central Square of Beijing. The previous one was stained with ink and paint yesterday afternoon. The students qualify this outrage as a provocation.

As reported by the XINHUA news service, the three young men who committed it are from Hunan Province, the homeland of Mao Zedong. They have been seized and escorted to a police station.

Young manifestors are still camped in Tiananmen Square. It appeared almost empty in the morning, however, but large groups of young people began to converge upon it, as in previous days, starting from noon.

Numerous residents of Beijing came to Tiananmen yesterday evening, after a violent rain storm, bringing the demonstrators warm clothing and food. They asked the students, it was learned in the square, not to leave Tiananmen, which remains the centre of developments in the Chinese capital.

At night, as a precaution, the demonstrators blocked the roads leading to the centre by trolleybuses and railings. Squads of young people and local residents kept vigil at these barracades.

The main demand of the demonstrators today is to call an extraordinary session of the National People's Congress [NPC].

The XINHUA News Service has transmitted a summary of a statement made by a spokesman of the "Army Headquarters for Carrying Out the Decree on Martial Law." According to the agency, he reaffirmed the legality of the introduction of martial law in Beijing. The military spokesman stressed that the Army was able to discharge its task of fulfilling the decree with the assistance of broad masses of the population.

The Chinese Red Cross Society has urged the central government and the students in Tiananmen to display restraint and cooperate in the evacuation of the students from the square with a view to preventing the spreading of infectious deseases.

Public traffic, including the underground [subway], has been restored in the city. People were able to reach their work places normally. Shops and markets are open as usual.

Today's press reported on the decision of Wan Li, chairman of the National People's Congress Standing Committee, to interrupt his U.S. trip "for health reasons."

A sensation of the first half of the day was a brief report by a correspondent of XINWEN CHUBAN BAO, published in today's issue of the newspaper and entitled "Jiang Zemin Acknowledges Rashness of the Decision Passed on the Newspaper SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO." It says that Jiang Zemin, member of the Politburo of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee, secretary of the Shanghai CPC City Committee, admitted the hastiness of measures taken against Qin Benli, former editor-in-chief of the popular Shanghai weekly SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO, who was dismissed on charges of trying to publish materials which would undermine seriously political unity in the country.

The fate of Qin Benli is linked by many with the problems of the freedom of the press.

As noted in the report, big demonstrations of mass media workers are now taking place in Shanghai. Journalists from SHIJIE JINGJI DAOBAO are taking part in them under streamers saying "We Are All for Qin Benli".

Near East & South Asia

Afghanistan's Wakil Views Nonaligned Conference

LD2305184589 Moscow TASS in English 1742 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Kabul May 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Andrey Greshnov: The Harare conference of the foreign ministers of the Nonaligned Movement member-countries has advanced a whole set of constructive proposals for settling the situation around Afghanistan and normalising the Afghan-Pakistani relations. Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil told this at a news conference for local and foreign journalists today.

He stressed that at the forum in the capital of Zimbabwe the Afghan delegation displayed readiness for a meeting between the foreign ministers of Afghanistan and Pakistan and strongly supported the proposal for forming a mixed commission to involve nine member-countries of the Nonaligned Movement. Regrettably, Pakistan did not give a positive response to any of these proposals. Fifty-four foreign ministers with the exception of only representatives of Pakistan and Bahrain, stated that the war, which is going on in Afghanistan following the withdrawal of Soviet troops, is the result of Pakistan's non-constructive policy, of gross violation by it of the Geneva agreements.

Knowing the position of many countries on the Afghan issue and the decisions being prepared by the conference, Saudi Arabia did not send its representatives to the forum.

Many delegates denounced the shortsighted policy of several states vis-a-vis Afghanistan adopted at the recent forum of the Organisation of the Islamic Conference at the foreign minister level.

On the whole, the forum in Harare has demonstrated most forcefully the convergence of views by the overwhelming majority of its participants on the question of a peaceful political settlement in Afghanistan and an early normalisation of the situation in the region.

Soviet Military Equipment Arrives in Kabul

LD2405135789 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1205 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Kabul, 24 May (TASS)—TASS correspondent Yuriy Tyssovskiy reports: A column of tanks, other military vehicles, and artillery has arrived in Kabul from Hayratan along the "road of life." This powerful military equipment is intended to reinforce the defensive potential of the Afghan capital to repulse sudden attacks on the city by armed units of the extremist opposition. As we know, a number of field commanders—A.Sh. Mas'ud of the "Islamic Society of Afghanistan," A. Haq of the "Islamic Party of Afghanistan," and other oppositionists who take orders from the leaders of the Peshawar-based "Alliance of Seven"—are talking of "starting an offensive against the city with a population of 2 million."

This morning there was a festive welcome for the column in the eastern suburbs of the capital. Afghan Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Tanai took part in it.

The tank brigade comprising 120 combat vehicles, a battalion of infantry fighting vehicles, and an artillery division with its full complement of personnel are in a state of full combat readiness. Lt Gen Tanai conferred orders and medals upon officers and soldiers of the brigade who had particularly distinguished themselves by displaying their good training and skill in mastering combat equipment during the almost 500-km forced march along the dangerous and complex route.

The enemies of the revolution and the people have recently been attempting to intensify their combat operations around Jalalabad, Khowst, Qandahar, and a number of other cities, and are planning to begin a siege of Kabul by concentrating their armed units around the capital, the Afghan defense minister said in an interview with Soviet journalists.

They are being provided, via Pakistan, with the most advanced U.S.-made weapons bought for Saudi money. Representatives of those three countries are acting as military advisers while Pakistani soldiers and Saudi mercenaries are directly participating in military operations. The 3 months that have elapsed since the Soviet troops were withdrawn have shown that the Afghan Armed Forces are capable of independently counteracting the offensive of well armed opposition forces. They rebuff them as they deserve while at the same time adhering to defensive tactics, for they do not want unnecessary bloodshed.

The new military equipment that arrived in Kabul today, Lt Gen Tanai stressed, will immeasurably reinforce the combat potential of the city's defenders. I would like to express wholehearted gratitude to the Soviet people who have never refused to help us in a difficult moment. We see in this yet another proof of the two countries' firm friendship, the foundations of which were laid decades ago.

The column of military equipment passed along Kabul streets where the people met their defenders with flowers and wreathes. Subunits of the brigade headed toward deployment points along the ring of defense around the Afghan capital.

Opposition Rejection of Afghan Cease-fire Noted

LD2305203189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 May 89

[Vladimir Fadeyev commentary]

[Text] [Announcer] Now I would like to dwell on the situation in and around Afghanistan. It remains tense. As is well known, at the Grand Assembly that has just been held in Kabul, Afghan President Najibullah made a proposal to a number of armed opposition groups within the country to cease combat for the purpose of normalizing the situation in the country in general and in the regions where they live, in particular, and also to start direct talks and a dialogue. They have also been offered full autonomy—if mutual understanding is achieved, naturally—and, in addition, necessary aid in food and essential goods.

The position adopted by the Pakistani Government at precisely this moment, which has made a bluntly provocative statement addressed to the Republic of Afghanistan, cannot fail to draw attention. That statement again reiterates the need for Najibullah's government to hand over its power to the so-called provisional government of Afghanistan formed in Pakistan. I ask my colleague Vladimir Fadeyev to share his opinion on this subject.

[Fadeyev] I recall that for a long time the current government of the Republic of Afghanistan has been conducting a dialogue on halting the war there with many commanders of the opposition formations, and also with the elders and chiefs of tribes. Well, the result of the talks is as follows: During the period of the policy of national reconciliation, 60,000 opposition members have joined the government, though earlier they were at war with it. The talks are continuing. Of course, there are a considerable number of people under the influence of the Pakistani military circles and intelligence service in the country. They want continued bloodshed. Naturally, it has been difficult so far to maintain a dialogue with such groupings.

The other day, 'Abdul Haq, the commander of a major opposition formation active in Kabul Province, rejected another proposal for a cease-fire and the beginning of a dialogue. Moreover, he saw the new proposals as a manifestation of the Kabul authorities' weakness. He boasted that they—that is, the opposition—were advancing along their own path toward seizing power and that they had their own view of Afghanistan's future and development. For example, they will achieve prosperity and progress by using Japan's experience. Well, let us have Japan's experience, no more, no less!

Of course, the naivete of such a statement deserves nothing but a smile, and we could even try to understand the author of that fantastic plan. Well, why not assume, in the end, that his dreams of and concern for his people's well-being have been guided by purely patriotic motives? But two circumstances—though, in fact, there are far more—make one think that this idea reeks of crude charlatanism based on the people's bloodshed. 'Abdul Haq, of all people, knows very well that about 11 years ago his country ranked nearly last on a list of countries according to per capita income. Naturally, the years of most cruel war could not improve the situation. On the whole, we are speaking about a country that has barely started to free itself from the fetters of a semi-feudal system. What postwar Japan can we talk about? This is the first thing. And the second thing is that thousands and thousands of Afghans are being drawn into the slaughter for the sake of such a dream, to say the least. This is terrible and unjustified.

Well, aparently other opposition commanders who are continuing the war have their own goals and views of the country's future. There are very few common ones, though; and this divides them. That is why Pakistan is now so concerned about expanding the social basis for the so-called Afghan provisional government. This way a common goal can be set; and methods for achieving this have also been thought out in Islamabad. For over 3 months already the Afghans themselves and the world public have been witnessing those methods; we can take Jalalabad and other Afghan towns as examples. These methods are based on their reluctance to observe the Geneva accords, and put their faith in the shelling of towns. And lately, there have also been attempts by the Pakistani military to begin open aggression against their neighboring country.

Peace Depends on Afghan Rebel Commanders

TA2305182289 Moscow in Dari to Afghanistan
1500 GMT 23 May 89

[Sergey Viktorov commentary]

[Text] Dear friends, greetings. Today I want to discuss in more detail the role of the opposition field commanders in connection with the country's current situation.

In my opinion, their role is very significant. Some journalists, including we, depict the situation as such that in Afghanistan there are two adversaries, namely the country's government in Kabul and the antigovernment political organizations based in Pakistan. But the real situation is different. The actual armed struggle against the Afghan Republic's forces in various parts of the country is being led not by the opposition's political leaders, but by the insurgents under the leadership of their commanders. Of course, from the organizational viewpoint, almost all of them are affiliated to this or that opposition political group based abroad. As far as I know, relations between the insurgents and their leadership abroad have still not taken the form of [words indistinct]. In many cases the (?insurgents) enjoy freedom of action. On the other hand, in my opinion, leaders of the opposition in Pakistan consider the course of Afghanistan's destiny as their own prerogative. Otherwise, how can one take into account the fact that not even one famous field commander is participating in the transitional government?

I believe that this is not the main reason hundreds of commanders have signed a document rejecting the transitional government. The important thing is that they have termed this government undemocratic and illegal, and have said this government is not representative of the people.

AFP has reported that the commanders who signed this document operate mainly in the country's eastern and southern regions. In other words, the commanders in the areas of Jalalabad, Khowst, and Qandahar, where the real battles are taking place, oppose the transitional government. AFP also affirmed that those who signed this document support the return of former King Mohammad Zahir Shah to Afghanistan. A copy of this document was also sent to the U.S. ambassador in Islamabad. But AFP pointed out that the names of famous commanders were not among the signatures under this document.

We have no information yet as to what reaction the famous commanders have shown in the face of President Najibullah's proposals at the Loya Jirgah, except for 'Abdul Haq, the opposition commander in Kabul Province. According to AFP, he has turned down the president's proposal on complete autonomy. At the same time, 'Abdul Haq said the mujahidin want to see Afghanistan become a developed country just like postwar Japan. The question that arises here is: How can Afghanistan develop like postwar Japan when the war's prolongation has brought about the danger of the destruction of the entire country? As is common knowledge, one can hardly create anything in a vacuum. The intransigent stance of 'Abdul Haq and those like him precisely paves the way for the continuation of the devastating war.

At any rate, in the conditions of present-day Afghanistan, the insurgents' field commanders constitute a major force because basically it is up to them whether in the future the sound of [word indistinct] will die down in Afghanistan. Therefore, I believe that to a large extent the settlement of the Afghan dispute will depend on their stance and realization of their responsibility toward the people and country.

London Meeting Marks Afghan Accords Anniversary

PM1905142189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
19 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report: "On the Anniversary of the Geneva Accords"]

[Text] London, 16 May—A news conference has been held in the British capital to mark the anniversary of the beginning of the implementation of the Geneva accords on Afghanistan. It was held on the initiative of Vassos Lyssarides, president of the Cypriot House of Representatives. The discussion with journalists was the concrete implementation of the decisions adopted at an international meeting on Afghanistan held in the Cypriot capital at the end of April.

Failure to implement international accords, especially accords achieved with UN participation, could have a very negative impact on the idea of the establishment of new interstate relations, V. Lyssarides pointed out. It is our task to rally the forces of the international public with the aim of achieving an end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan and implementation in full of the decisions adopted on that country.

The accords concluded in Geneva correspond to the aspirations of all the interested parties, Muhammad Murad Ghalib, former Egyptian foreign minister, said. The war is continuing because the accords have not been implemented.

Chandrajit Yadav, a former member of the Indian Government, who spoke next, pointed out the importance of the immediate cessation of foreign interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs.

A year ago most people in the world rated the signing of the Geneva accords as a guarantee of the establishment of peace in Afghanistan, M.P. Vyshinskiy, member of the Presidium of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries and USSR deputy justice minister, said. However, the withdrawal of Soviet forces set in motion a non-stop "conveyor belt of violation of the Geneva accords." Deliveries of weapons to the extremists via Pakistan have increased, and not one of the military training centers has been closed down or moved. Regrettably, the G. Bush administration has also declared its support for the rebels.

The news conference participants stated that they intend to meet with many prominent figures in the near future, including the UN secretary general and the chairman of the Nonaligned Movement, with a view to achieving full implementation of all the provisions of the Geneva accords.

Vorontsov Talks in Tehran on Afghanistan Viewed

NC2405113589 Moscow Radio Peace and Progress in Persian to Iran 1530 GMT 22 May 89

[Unattributed commentary]

[Excerpts] The new round of talks between Iranian leaders and famous Soviet diplomat Yuliy Vorontsov, Soviet ambassador to Afghanistan, was held in Tehran. The Soviet diplomat also met with representatives of the Afghan opposition—that is, the Eight-Party Alliance based in Iran.

This round continued fruitful conversation between the sides on the Afghanistan problem, which has general impact on the area situation—an area where three regional conflicts (?are taking place).

During the Tehran talks, the new [word indistinct] situation that has been created in Afghanistan since the withdrawal of the Soviet forces was discussed in detail. The Soviet side emphasized that the exacerbation of bloodshed in that country stemming from the direct foreign intervention by Pakistan, supported by the United States and Saudi Arabia, in Afghanistan's problems has been transformed into aggression. Pakistan's direct military operations are contrary to the Geneva accords and are basically thwarting a solution of the Afghanistan problem and efforts to achieve peace.

The Soviet Union's assessment of the situation in Afghanistan (?was supported) by the Iranians. The Iranian leaders expressed deep concern over the continuation of the war in Afghanistan and the active participation of foreign forces in this. They emphasized that Iran is very interested in a peaceful solution of the conflict and in preserving Afghanistan as an independent and nonaligned country.

It is clear that if the process of solving domestic affairs is continued, along with the opposition efforts in the form of the Peshawar-based Seven-Party Alliance to impose rule by resorting to force, positive results will not be obtained. [passage omitted]

Envoys from Peshawar who occasionally visit Iran terrify Iran through Western mass media about the existence of imaginary communist threats in Afghanistan. It is interesting to note that they portray the members of Afghanistan's People's Democratic Party as communists. Obviously such similarities are made on the basis of inflammatory objectives. Afghanistan's People's Democratic Party is not a Marxist organization in any way. It is a party that has stated that its primary objective is to defend national interests and actively support national reconciliation and political pluralism. It is a party that respects Islam and the various forms of personal ownership. It is an influential force in society and cannot be omitted from the country's political life.

Obviously, Afghanistan's neighboring countries, namely Iran, can take many steps in order to prevent a civil war. There are camps where armed Afghan opposition groups train in this country. The common language, religion, and culture grants Iran the opportunity to fruitfully influence the opposition and harness the extremist spirit among the representatives of the opposition alliance.

Now that all the conditions for effective discussions between the current Afghan leadership and the opposition exist, the importance of the assistance Iran can extend increases more than ever before. In relation to this, the Soviet public has favorably received remarks by Iran's President Seyyed 'Ali Khamene'i during his talks with Yuliy Vorontsov. As we know, the Iranian president pointed out that Iran wants the immediate termination of bloodshed in Afghanistan and the formation of an independent government with (?vast participation) by all Afghans.

USSR To Give Syria More Sophisticated Weapons

JN2305160089 Abu Dhabi AL-ITTIHAD in Arabic 22 May 89 p 1

[Text] AL-ITTIHAD has learned that the USSR intends to supply Syria with further sophisticated weapons, including MiG-31 fighter planes, and airborne warning and control system planes derived from the Ilyushin Il-76 planes which are known by the name "Mainstay."

Informed Western sources told AL-ITTIHAD it is most likely that Syria will be supplied with MiG-31 fighter planes later this year to replace the MiG-25 fighters currently operating in the Syrian Air Force.

These sources voiced the belief that the USSR will enhance its political and military ties with Syria with the aim of pushing it toward further flexibility vis-a-vis a political settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict. This development in arms relations between Moscow and Damascus is taking place at a time when Western reports indicate Syria will shortly acquire Soviet Sukhoi-24 assault fighter planes.

Syrian Premier Thanks Ryzhkov for Greeting

PM1905115389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Text] To Comrade N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers

I received the congratulations from the USSR Council of Minsters on the anniversary of the evacuation of foreign forces from the Syrian Arab Republic with a feeling of profound gratitude and appreciation.

I would like to express to you and your government my respect and gratitude for the good wishes and sincere feelings extended to the Syrian people. We wish the friendly Soviet people, with whom bonds of respect, gratitude, and sympathy unite us, progress and prosperity.

Reaffirming our desire to deepen cooperation between our countries in all spheres in the interests of the Soviet and the Syrian peoples and for the sake of a just and lasting peace, I wish you personally good health and happiness, and the government of the friendly Soviet Union success, progress, and prosperity.

[Signed] Mahmud al-Zu'bi, prime minister of the Government of the Syrian Arab Republic

Arab Summit Opens in Casablanca 23 May

Morocco's Hassan Welcomes Back Egypt

LD2405090689 Moscow TASS in English 0829 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Casablanca May 24 TASS—By TASS Correspondents Vyacheslav Anchikov, Vyacheslav Korzelev and Valeriy Kostylyev:

Morocco's King Hassan II welcomed Egypt back to the Arab League after a 10-year split as he opened the most representative Arab summit in recent years here on Tuesday. Egypt split from the Arab League after signing the Camp David Accords.

The king also urged greater solidarity through coordination of efforts of Arab regional organisations.

The two-day summit, which attracted more than 1,400 journalists from all around the globe, will discuss the Palestinian problem, Arab support for the 18 month old Palestinian uprising, the Arab-Israeli conflict, the Lebanon crisis, Iran-Iraq relations, improvement of inter-Arab relations and the ironing out of disagreements among the Arab states.

A two-day meeting of Arab foreign ministers, which revealed differences on some issues, was held a few days earlier. Syrian and Palestinian delegations submitted their own draft resolutions on the Palestinian problem and the Middle East conflict. But the sides adopted a compromise draft resolution proposed by Egypt. The draft stresses three main aspects, including the withdrawal of Israeli troops from the occupied territories, provision of the legitimate rights of the Palestinians and holding an international conference on the Middle East.

There are also differences as regards prospects for a Lebanon settlement. All Arab countries stress the need to preserve the sovereignty and territorial integrity of Lebanon, although opinions differ on ways to achieve it.

Gorbachev Sends Message to Hassan

PM2405122389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 First Edition pp 1,2

["Message from M.S. Gorbachev to the King of Morocco"—PRAVDA headline]

[Text] In connection with the extraordinary all-Arab summit conference, which opened in Morocco on 23 May, Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, has sent the following message to Hassan II, King of Morocco and chairman of the conference:

"Your Majesty:

"Permit me cordially to greet you, and in your person, all participants in the extraordinary conference in Casablanca of the heads of Arab states and government, which is regarded in the Soviet Union as a major event, not just on a regional, but also on an international scale. Addressing the participants in this authoritative forum, we are leaning on the firm traditions of Soviet-Arab friendship and cooperation and of our joint efforts to establish a just and comprehensive peace in the Middle East.

"It is significant that the Arab summit meeting is being called against the background of the worldwide trend toward the creation of a new system of global and regional relations, which is picking up strength and envisages the elimination of nuclear and other types of weapons of mass destruction, the unblocking of regional conflicts, and a transition from confrontation to constructive interaction and codevelopment. At this watershed, no single region in the world can or may stand aside from the process of improving the international climate. The Middle East is also gradually stepping onto that path.

"In our opinion, favorable conditions now have taken shape in the region for progress toward peace. In essence, the broadest consensus has formed in favor of holding an international conference on the Middle East. Of course, such an improvement in the mood of the world community is no coincidence. It is, above all, the result of the steadfastness and heroism of the Palestinian population on the West Bank of the Jordan River and in the Gaza Strip, who have been continuing their courageous, peaceful uprising against the Israeli occupation for 1 and ½ years now. No less important is the fact that the intifadah [uprising] enjoys firm support from the Arab peoples, the socialist and nonaligned states, and public opinion in both the East and the West. The turn toward peace in the region is also facilitated by the well-considered and constructive policy being pursued by the PLO, which has given a serious impetus to the level of political activity around the problem of a settlement.

"Evidently, however, not everything has been done yet, for although the settlement train is under steam, it has not yet gotten moving. So it is necessary to increase efforts and seek the convening of an international conference. This must be done by using all forces and possibilities and all levers. As is known, we have proposed a whole serious of practical measures to prepare a conference, including bringing UN mechanisms into operation. We do not reject other ideas, naturally on the condition that they lead in the right direction. The main thing, in our opinion, is for the road to a settlement to be laid jointly, through collective action, dialogue, and extending the zone of mutual understanding.

"The united voice of the Arabs is particularly important for the success of the cause of a settlement. We hope that the conference will be able to elaborate a pan-Arab platform on this fateful issue. In general, it must be said that close inter-Arab coordination has always been and remains one of the main factors acting in favor of stabilization and peace in the region.

"The problem of overcoming inter-Arab differences is present in an acute and topical form in connection with the situation in Lebanon, where the blood of Arabs is being shed in fratricidal clashes. In these conditions, there is no task more vital than to put an end to the mutual destruction and achieve a ceasefire as soon as possible. Only thus is it possible to open the path to real steps toward agreement in Lebanon and toward arranging a stable, constructive dialogue among the various Lebanese groupings. Finally, it is also important from the point of view of stepping up efforts to realise the task of the complete withdrawal of Israeli forces from Lebanese territory and the cessation of Israel's interference in Lebanon's internal affairs.

"The Soviet Union appraises highly and supports completely the peacemaking efforts for Lebanon being undertaken by the Arab League Committee of Six. In the interests of maintaining Lebanon as a unified, independent state with territorial integrity, it is necessary for the activity of this committee to receive broader and broader Arab support and for intra-Lebanese mutual understanding to be arranged around it.

"A difficult problem, which worries both the Arabs and the Soviet Union, is the unsettled nature of the Iran-Iraq conflict. There is still much to be done to successfully complete the process of peace negotiations between Baghdad and Teheran, which was started only with difficulty. On this point I would like to confirm again the Soviet Union's desire to render the utmost practical support and assistance to the advancement of the Iran-Iraq negotiations and the UN secretary general's intermediary mission.

"I cannot fail to touch upon one more acute and painful problem, the Afghan one. A dangerous situation, which conceals within itself unpredictable consequences, is taking shape around this issue. Let me say it straight out. In light of the conclusion of the Geneva accords and the strict observance of them by the Soviet Union and the Government of Afghanistan, it would seem that nothing should have prevented the other parties from working toward a normalization of the situation and the creation of conditions for intra-Afghan national reconciliation. However, this has not happened. On the contrary, interference in Afghanistan's internal affairs from outside has intensified, and an escalation of military operations against the Afghan people has occurred. Attempts are being made to play with their fate for the benefit of regional ambitions and mercenary calculations. However, as the lessons of history teach us, he who kindles the fire of war is punished severely. The development of events shows that attempts to overthrow the legitimate government of the Republic of Afghanistan by force of arms are futile. No sensible alternative exists to a political settlement through the formation of a broad-based government.

"We are convinced that the sooner the situation in Afghanistan is developed in the direction of peace, the more favorably will the prospects for the whole extensive region of the Near and Middle East take shape.

"In conclusion, permit me to express the hope that the Arab summit conference in Casablanca will make a worthy contribution to solving the problems facing the countries and peoples of the Near East. I wish the participants in the conference great successes and accomplishments along this road, and happiness and prosperity for their peoples.

"Accept, your Majesty, assurances of my deep respect, [Signed] "M. Gorbachev"

Ryzhkov Meets Visiting Libyan Oil Minister

LD2405135689 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1313 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow, May 24 TASS—Nikolay Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Fawzi al-Shakshuki, secretary (minister) of the General People's Committees for Petroleum of the Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriyah in the Kremlin today. Al-Shakshuki handed over a personal message from Mu'ammar al-Qadhdhafi, leader of the Libyan revolution, addressed to Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

During the ensuing conversation, the Libyan representative noted the great significance of the restructuring being implemented in the Soviet Union and wished success to the holding of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies. He spoke approvingly of the enterprising foreign policy of the Soviet state, which serves the cause of peace, disarmament, and the independence of peoples, and which has earned the recognition of the whole world.

The Council of Ministers chairman described the current stage of socialist renewal in all spheres of life of Soviet society. Speaking of the organic link between restructuring and the process of improving the international situation, he stressed the consistency of the efforts of the Soviet leadership, aimed at the democratization and humanization of international relations, the settling of regional conflicts by political means, and the assertion of people's rights to freedom of choice for their paths of development.

In discussing Soviet-Libyan relations, attention was drawn to the importance of work to improve bilateral cooperation on the basis of equal rights and taking into account mutual interests. The Soviet confirmed the principled nature of the USSR's policy of strengthening friendly cooperation with the countries of the developing world, including the Libyan Jamahiriyah.

The conversation took place in a friendly atmosphere.

Science Cooperation Pact Signed With Jordan

LD2305064289 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1134 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Amman, 22 May (TASS)—An agreement on cooperation and exchanges of scientists was signed here today between the USSR Academy of Sciences and Jordan's Higher Council for Science and Technology. The agreement provides for exchanges of scientific cadres to deliver lectures, hold seminars, and take part in research. The document, the validity of which expires in 3 years, is a result of the talks held here by a Soviet delegation headed by O.A. Bogatikov, deputy chief learned secretary of the USSR Academy of Sciences Presidium. The Soviet scientists, who visited the Royal Scientific Society and the main research centers, were received by Jordan's Crown Prince Hasan.

Soviet Muslims Mourn Murdered Lebanese Mufti

LD1805134389 Moscow TASS in English 1159 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 18 TASS—Soviet Muslims are shocked by the new atrocity staged in Lebanon—the killing of Shaykh Hasan Khalid, the grand mufti of the Republic. They grieve over the heavy loss suffered by the whole of the Muslim world. The outstanding religious leader and public figure, who is widely known across the world, passed away through the fault of terrorists.

A TASS correspondent was told at the department of international links of the USSR's Muslim organisations that the heads of all four Muslim boards of the Soviet Union sent special messages over the tragic death of Grand Mufti Hasan Khalid to the leadership of the Republic of Lebanon, that country's Muslim circles and the family of the deceased.

The messages point out that Soviet Muslims highly value the late mufti's work in defence of peace and his tireless calls for stopping bloodshed in Lebanon.

Sub-Saharan Africa

U.S. Increases Aid to Angolan UNITA Rebels

LD2105203889 Moscow TASS in English 2027 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] London May 21 TASS—The United States is increasing support of the UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] group by airlifting large-scale supplies of arms and ammunition to the places of its deployment and action in Angola, the English SUNDAY TIMES said today. The airlift operations began as soon as South Africa started withdrawing its troops from the bases in the Caprivi strip along the Angola-Namibia border, the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH cited the UNITA commanding sources as saying.

The action attests to President George Bush's determination to continue the former administration's policy course in support of the UNITA, the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH indicated.

A Department of State spokesman said in Washington that the United States were effectively assisting the UNITA in agreement with the Congress. The level and character of assistance and the means of delivery were not debated, he said.

American transport planes presently deliver the goods straight to the city of Jamba, the newspaper cited UNITA spokesman George Valentin as saying. The runway in the rebel capital was recently treated with special substances to allow the landing of such heavyweight transport planes as C-130 Hercules. They penetrate the Angolan airspace flying at low altitude probably from the direction of Zaire.

Last year special depots were set up on the territory of that country to ensure provisions for the UNITA. U.S. Air Force C-141 "Starlifter" planes performed thousands of flights to deliver the supplies there.

The participation of Zaire in the last week's summit of the heads of central and southern African states was a patent sign of warmer relations between Angola and Zaire which can explain why the United States decided to begin supplying the UNITA directly, bypassing Zaire, the SUNDAY TELEGRAPH said.

Angola Sees Aid Impeding Ties

LD2105211689 Moscow TASS in English 2048 GMT 21 May 89

[Text] Luanda May 22 TASS—The U.S. Administration's continuing support for UNITA [National Union for the Total Independence of Angola] is the main obstacle to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the United States and the People's Republic of Angola (PRA), Pedro de Castro Van Dunen, member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the MPLA [Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola] Workers' Party and Angolan foreign minister, said in Harare in an interview with an ANGOP news agency correspondent.

No substantial changes have taken place in relations between the two countries lately, the minister said. However, the Angolan leadership does not cease efforts to secure the U.S. Administration's official and final recognition of Angola.

We are confident that this is only a matter of time, he emphasized. A plan worked out by the Angolan Government for a peaceful settlement of the situation in the Republic, the plan which will be brought to the attention of the U.S. Administration, will undoubtedly create conditions for the U.S. Administration's finally recognizing Angola and discontinuing aid to UNITA.

All African countries now feel concern about the problem of bringing about a peaceful settlement of the situation in Angola, Van Dunen pointed out. Therefore any initiatives in this field deserve the attention of the international community.

At the recent African summit meeting which was held in Luanda and which dealt with a settlement of the situation in Angola, the minister said, the presidents of seven African countries endorsed the Angolan Government's peace plan and stated their readiness to inform the leaders of the United States, the Soviet Union, Britain, the Federal Republic of Germany, France, and Portugal of the plan. They also called on these countries, which have considerable influence on the course of events in the south of Africa, to support Angola's peace efforts.

Reportage on Ethiopian Coup Attempt, Aftermath

Coup Foiled; Life 'Returning to Normal'

PM2305094789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent G. Ustinov dispatch: "Alarming Days"]

[Text] Addis Ababa—The Ethiopian capital was cut off from the outside world for 2 days. It was only on Friday that our correspondent was able to get through to the editorial office.

Life in the Ethiopian capital is returning to normal after the foiled attempted coup d'etat. Telephone and international telex lines have been restored. The city's airport is open. But special subunits are still guarding the State Council, television center, and City Hall buildings. Reinforced police detachments are posted at intersections.

What happened in Ethiopia? Here is a brief rundown of these alarming days.

At midday 16 May Ethiopian President Mengistu Haile Mariam left on an official visit to the GDR. A few hours later fighters began to zoom about, buzzing right over the rooftops. Tanks, armored personnel carriers, and army trucks carrying soldiers appeared on the city streets. The city center, from where machinegun and submachinegun fire could be heard, was sealed off. Toward evening only lone vehicles were to be encountered even on the outskirts of the capital. The telephone at the IZVESTIYA office fell dead silent.

At 2330 a statement from the country's State Council was read out. It said that a group of generals and senior officers had attempted a coup d'etat and that forces loyal to the government had foiled the conspirators' schemes. However, shooting continued all night and throughout the next morning. Ethiopian radio announced on the morning of 17 May that the coup's organizers—Merid Negusie, chief of the General Staff, and Amha Desta, commander of the Air Force—had been killed during the clash. Their accomplices surrendered to the authorities. Ethiopian Defense Minister Haile Giorgis Habte-Mariam died at the hands of the rebels.

The radio station in Asmara, administrative center of Eritrea Province, issued an unexpected statement 17 May. It claimed that the 2d Revolutionary Army, the backbone of the Ethiopian Armed Forces, had gone over to the conspirators. At the same time the leadership of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front separatist organization announced that it was ceasing hostilities against this army for a period of 2 weeks.

President Mengistu returned from Berlin to Addis Ababa that evening.

Whereas the situation in Addis Ababa was mainly stabilized 18 May, events in Asmara took a dramatic turn. Mengistu Haile Mariam stated in his evening television speech that a large proportion of the government troops stationed in Eritrea had remained loyal to the authorities. The mutinous army commanders Demissie Bulto and another five generals had been killed. There was shooting throughout the day in the city. Asmara is now once again in government hands.

Ethiopian Foreign Minister Berhanu Bayeh held a press conference 19 May. He stated that the situation inside the country is improving. All seats of revolt have been eliminated. The people and the army did not follow the conspirators, who were guided by personal ambitions and a desire for power.

Government 'in Full Control'

PM2305104389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
20 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[Correspondent S. Demidov dispatch: "Situation Normalized"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 19 May—It was officially announced here in the evening of 18 May that the Government of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE] is in full control of the situation in the country.

As already reported, an unsuccessful attempt at a coup d'etat was made in the afternoon of 16 May, but 48 hours later life in the capital had already begun to return to normal. The crackle of bursts of machinegun and submachinegun fire had ceased, and the guns of armored carriers had fallen silent. The streets were once again flooded with vehicles. There was the usual bustle of work in the southern industrial suburbs of Addis Ababa—Kaliti [name as transliterated] and Akaki. Establishments resumed their activity after a 1-day break, industrial enterprises began working, and banks and stores opened.

Yesterday evening Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia [WPE] Central Committee and president of the PDRE, addressed the Ethiopian people. In his speech, broadcast on radio and television, he declared that the troops of the 2d Revolutionary Army, the majority of whom had remained loyal to the government, had also crushed those who had raised a revolt in Asmara, the center of the Autonomous Province of Eritrea, acting in concert with the organizers of the coup attempt in the capital.

The president of the PDRE did not hide the fact that many difficulties have to be overcome—above all, difficulties of a social nature—in order to wrest the country from its backward state. He voiced confidence that Ethiopia's working people will accelerate the movement toward progress and toward realizing the goals set by the 1974 national democratic revolution.

Today Berhanu Bayeh, member of the WPE Central Committee Politburo and PDRE foreign minister, had a meeting with diplomats and journalists accredited in Addis Ababa. He reported that a number of top officers who had attempted to carry out a coup had set themselves the task of overthrowing the country's democratically elected leadership and replacing it with a military junta. He said they were guided not by the interests of the people's masses and the country's security, but merely by their own personal ambitions.

...In the capital today hardly anything reminds you of the alarming events experienced. International communications were restored overnight. Passenger airliners of the PDRE state air company—Ethiopian Airlines—have taken off from the runway at Addis Ababa Airport.

Mengistu Addresses Rally

PM2305095989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
21 May 89 Second Edition p 5

[Correspondent S. Demidov report: "Mass Rally"]

[Text] Addis Ababa, 20 May—This Saturday was declared a public holiday in the Ethiopian capital and its suburbs. (The country has a 6-day work week.)

Thousands of residents of Addis Ababa gathered from early morning in Revolution Square, which was submerged in a sea of green-yellow-red flags. A mass rally took place. The speakers condemned last Tuesday's attempt by a number of generals to overthrow the present leadership of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia [PDRE] and declared their support for the country's government and the line pursued by the Workers Party of Ethiopia.

Mengistu Haile Mariam, general secretary of the Workers Party of Ethiopia Central Committee and president of Ethiopia, delivered a speech to those taking part in the rally.

The failure of the military coup, he noted, irrefutably proves the staunchness and steadfastness of the country's armed forces and the Ethiopian people's high standards of political awareness.

Recently, the president went on, people started asking themselves why combat units of the Ethiopian Army have been suffering unexpected and at times serious losses (this is a reference to the recent failures by government troops in the north of the republic, in the autonomous provinces of Eritrea and Tigre where armed formations of separatist movement are operating), despite the fact that the people have been giving them and continue to give them total support in the cause of defending the motherland's territorial integrity. The leader of the PDRE bluntly blamed insurgents holding key positions in the Armed Forces for the recent defeats.

The president dwelt on the country's achievements and on the difficulties and problems encountered by the people in the 15 years since the September 1974 national democratic revolution. He also spoke of the difficult tasks that still await solution.

According to ENA (Ethiopian News Agency) reports, units of the 2d Revolutionary Army and subunits of the People's Militia, which put down the 18 May military insurgency in the autonomous province, paraded through the central streets of Asmara, the main city of Eritrea. There was also a demonstration by the population in support of the Government of the PDRE.

East Europe

Polish Spokesman Condemns Krakow Demonstrations

LD2305201989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1320 GMT 23 May 89

["PPR Government Spokesman Has Condemned the Anti-Soviet Sorties in Krakow"—TASS headline]

[Text] Warsaw 23 May (TASS)—Zbyslaw Rykowski, deputy PPR [Polish People's Republic] government press spokesman, has expressed indignation and regrets in connection with the anti-Soviet excesses in Krakow and attempts to provoke similar sorties in Gdansk. At a news conference held in Warsaw today he stated that the scandalous and irresponsible political sorties by groups of young people ran counter to the position and views of the overwhelming majority of the Polish public.

Polish-Soviet relations, contacts between the two states, between the peoples and citizens of the USSR and the PPR, Z. Rykowski pointed out, have never been as good as at present. A process of a radical reappraisal of the past is underway. Successes of the Soviet restructuring underpin the reforms in Poland.

It is precisely at present, at a time when the Polish experiment is being watched with sympathy in the USSR, that people who show aggressive anti-Soviet tendencies, defiling the USSR's coat of arms and insulting the dignity of Soviet citizens, are coming to the fore.

Morally, chauvinism has always been repulsive. Its demonstration at this precise moment in time serves as a convincing testimony of political stupidity and ill will. I expect from our partners at the "roundtable" talks that they will take a precise stance with regard to the Krakow excesses, emphasised Z. Rykowski. This is a political and moral duty of all responsible participants in public life in Poland. The deputy PPR Government press spokesman resolutely rejected attempts to equate the groups of demonstrators, who attacked the USSR's Consulate General in Krakow and defiled the Soviet coat of arms, with the forces in charge of protecting public order, the task of which is to ensure that calm is preserved and the rules of hospitality observed.

Hungary's Grosz Cited on Political Reform

PM2305152789 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Statement by K. Grosz"]

[Text] Budapest, 20 May—A statement by K. Grosz, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP], evaluating the results of the 1 year that has elapsed since the Hungarian national party conference, was published here. The statement notes in particular that the past few months have revealed the most important aspect of the conference—it paved the way for the party's ideological, political, and cadre renewal. The conference strengthened the belief that the MSZMP not only strives for changes but is also capable of effecting them.

Today we realize that the political and economic "legacy" is much more burdensome than we thought, K. Grosz pointed out. But despite this we are adhering to the conference's main idea: fundamental changes are necessary.

The processes now occurring within Hungarian society are essentially in line with the party's intentions and aspirations. But their pace is much faster than we imagined. I deem the political reform's faster implementation in the future desirable, but economic transformations must not fall behind, K. Grosz pointed out.

We have nothing to feel embarrassed about concerning our political activity over the past few months. The MSZMP has dissociated itself from past mistakes. The party has proclaimed pluralism as its strategic objective, taking into consideration the real social conditions and proceeding from the need to introduce a multiparty system [mnogopartiynost].

One of the past year's important results is the fact that political processes in the country have hitherto not gotten out of control. Today, K. Grosz pointed out, I perceive a danger in the intensification of ideological and political aspirations rejecting socialism. Our fundamental interest is to ensure that the MSZMP which will contest the forthcoming elections is politically and organizationally united and self-confident.

Talyzin, Bulgaria's Zhivkov Discuss Trade

PM2305143189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 89 Morning Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Developing Ties"]

[Text] Sofia, 21 May—Real opportunities exist to dynamically boost commodity exchange between the USSR and Bulgaria, to improve its structure through the deepening of specialization and production sharing, and to accelerate the technological renewal of production on the basis of the Long-Term Program for the Development of Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation through the Year 2000. This was emphasized when T. Zhivkov, general secretary of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee and chairman of the Bulgarian People's Republic State Council, received N.V. Talyzin, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who heads the Soviet side of the Soviet-Bulgarian Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation. Topical questions of economic, scientific, and technical ties between the two countries in 1991-1995 were discussed during the commission's working meeting, which was held here.

In the course of the conversation, T. Zhivkov and N.V. Talyzin noted that it is expected that reciprocal deliveries of machine building and electronic industry products, technological equipment, consumer goods, and foodstuffs will be expanded. It was pointed out with gratification that agreement has been reached on cooperation in the sphere of electronics and automobile production. It was emphasized that the utilization of existing major reserves for boosting commodity exchange is associated with changes in the mechanism of both bilateral ties and multilateral collaboration within the CEMA framework. It was noted that it is necessary to further expand direct ties between Bulgarian and Soviet economic organizations, production sharing, and the creation of joint enterprises.

West Europe

Belgium's Martens Favors SNF Talks

LD2305193689 Moscow TASS in English 1859 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Brussels May 23 TASS—By TASS correspondent Valeriy Shashkov:

Belgian Prime Minister Wilfried Martens said Belgium would like the North Atlantic Alliance to show the readiness to enter as soon as possible in negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons to establish military balance in Europe at the lowest level.

Addressing on Tuesday a joint meeting of the foreign affairs and defence commissions of the Chamber of Representatives of Belgian Parliament, Martens set out the stand his government intends to assert at the coming NATO summit in Brussels. The prime minister said these talks must be held parallel with the negotiations in Vienna on armed forces and conventional armaments in Europe.

Dwelling on the plans of modernisation of tactical nuclear weapons, on which the United States and Britain insist, Martens said Belgium does not regard this problem urgent. He said NATO should not make decisions on the development, production, and deployment of new short-range nuclear weapon systems earlier than 1991-1992. At the same time he said that the Belgian Government is prepared to maintain the due volume of these armaments, in case of need.

The prime minister said the Brussels summit is to adopt a political declaration which will formulate the tasks of the North Atlantic Alliance in conditions of changes taking place in Eastern Europe. The drafting of the text is being completed. Martens noted that there is a broad consensus among NATO countries about those provisions of the declaration that are not linked directly to the problem of tactical nuclear weapons. As to the provisions reflecting NATO's stand on that kind of armaments, they are the subject of vigorous diplomatic activity, the Belgian prime minister said.

FRG Compromise on SNF Shows 'Pliability'

PM2205164589 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 20 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent Ye. Bovkun dispatch: "Compromise Formula?"]

[Text] Bonn—FRG Defense Minister Gerhard Stoltenberg has gone to the United States with some new ideas regarding tactical nuclear weapons, after first discussing them within a close circle. The options for the compromise formula were approved by Foreign Minister H.D. Genscher and Chancellor H. Kohl.

After his first conversations with his partners, G. Stoltenberg rushed to tell journalists that Washington had reacted positively to his proposals and that the compromise formula could even assume its final form early next week. He is specifically referring to the following: Bonn is backing down slightly on its former stance and is not demanding that talks be held on tactical nuclear missile reductions in tandem with the Vienna talks, where the future of conventional arms is being decided. In turn Washington is giving up its hard-line attitude, whereby it denied the advisability of tactical weapons talks. The partners are now agreed on making the start of these talks dependent on the outcome of the Vienna discussions: If the latter are successful, the Soviet proposal on the "third zero" can be discussed; if not, NATO representatives will not sit down jointly with the Warsaw Pact states to reach agreement on shorter-range nuclear systems.

The ruling coalition's endeavor to eliminate the disagreements with the Americans on the eve of the Brussels NATO Council session illustrates that the FRG's foreign policy course is becoming more flexible and that people in Bonn have a good idea of the importance of elaborating a single alliance-policy concept on disarmament and arms control.

However, talking with certain competent people close to government circles, you conclude that this flexibility is more a matter of pliability and tractability than constructiveness. All indications are that, clearly, by no means all conservative and liberal politicians would subscribe to the compromise that G. Stoltenberg has taken to the United States. Many of them see the "third zero" as quite acceptable. This is to say nothing of the opposition, who are warning the federal government against excessive concessions to the United States.

Of course, compromises are needed, especially on such an important matter as disarmament. Sometimes they mean "yes" and sometimes "no" to a partner's proposals. But, unfortunately, the FRG has still never given a firm "no" to the plans for nuclear arms within NATO.

UK in 'Isolation' on SNF; EEC Behind Expulsions

PM2405104789 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 89 Morning Edition p 5

[Correspondent A. Krivopalov commentary: "Britain: Unfriendly Action"]

[Text] "Who is on the 'blacklist?'" "What are they being accused of?" On learning of the authorities' decision to expel staffers of Soviet establishments from the country (see IZVESTIYA No 143), many British colleagues are putting such questions to us Soviet journalists working in Britain.

The names were not announced until the very last moment, and people accounted for such "restraint" by saying that London officialdom did not want to cloud the atmosphere of British-Soviet relations. But, by declaring 11 Soviet citizens personae non gratae, including 3 journalists, without making any specific accusations, the British side has, in my opinion, moved quite deliberately to cloud this atmosphere.

An unfriendly and provocative action has been carried out. As already reported, our side has categorically denied the groundless accusations against the Soviet staffers, whose activity fully accords with the provisions of the Vienna convention on diplomatic relations and with universally recognized international norms. The British authorities have, I repeat, adduced no facts attesting to the opposite. Not that any exist.

But, still, why has the Conservative government taken this step? There are several reasons. The London authorities have, by all accounts, decided to display firmness and, if you like, strength, to thereby shore up their shaken prestige. Hella Pick, diplomatic commentator for THE GUARDIAN, writes: "This move (the expulsion of 11 Soviet citizens—A.K.) has triggered speculation that Mrs Thatcher was acting out of disappointment with some of Britain's NATO allies, who, she believes, are not cautious enough in dealing with the USSR. With only a few days to go before the start of an important NATO meeting (meaning the jubilee NATO Council session devoted to its 40th anniversary—A.K.), Mrs Thatcher realized that she had become isolated on her refusal to make any concessions on negotiations on tactical nuclear weapons."

The question of the Soviet citizens' expulsion, as was only to be expected, was raised in the House of Commons. Speaking there Monday, Sir Geoffrey Howe, head of the Foreign Office, tried to substantiate in a moralizing tone the correctness of the decision adopted by the government. In his opinion, Moscow should not have taken any retaliatory measures but should merely have silently acquiesced to what had happened.

Speaking on behalf of the Labor opposition, G. Kaufman, a member of its "shadow cabinet," spoke with regret of the revival of "cold war" mores. Addressing G. Howe directly, he asked: "Will you not be worried by the serious deterioration in British-Soviet relations that is happening now?" It cannot be considered a simple coincidence that this step was taken one week before the top-level NATO meeting in Brussels. "All NATO countries are ready to negotiate with the Soviets. Only Britain is not," the same G. Kaufman emphasized in a television interview, referring to the problems of tactical nuclear weapons.

Isolation is also manifested in another sphere of Britain's relations with its partners. The Tory Cabinet's intransigence in certain approaches to problems of the "Common Market" and to questions of financial or, for example, social policies is giving rise to ever-greater criticism in West European capitals.

Mention must also be made of the growing antigovernment feeling in the conservative camp itself, which certainly does not appear monolithic now. Opposition sentiments with regard to a number of the Thatcher Cabinet's actions are being openly manifested increasingly frequently.

All this is so. But why display "firmness" in quite a different sphere and take such rash steps? Much has been done recently in the interests of consolidating the joint movement by the USSR and Britain toward greater cooperation and mutual understanding. This represents very great political capital for both states. It is not good housekeeping, to say the least, to squander it. It is unwise.

Journalists Protest Colleagues' Expulsion From UK

LD2305161589 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1515 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 May (TASS)—The USSR Union of Journalists has expressed a decisive protest against the groundless, fictitious accusations against Soviet journalists, whose activities were in line with the spirit of the Information Forum that has just ended in London.

A USSR Union of Journalists statement, published today, says that the decision of the British Government to expel three journalists, representing APN, TASS, and the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper, had been received here with profound indignation. This unfriendly act runs counter to the nature of relations that have come about between Great Britain and the Soviet Union, undermines the atmosphere of trust and cooperation in Europe, and infringes upon the professional contacts between Soviet and British journalists.

Spanish Defense Minister Continues USSR Visit

Meets With Ryzhkov, Yazov

PM2405101389 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Conversation with Spanish Defense Minister"]

[Text] On 23 May N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, received Spanish Defense Minister N. Serra, who is in the Soviet Union at the invitation of USSR Defense Minister Army General D.T. Yazov, who also took part in the conversation.

Greeting the Spanish guest, N.I. Ryzhkov said that the first visit to the Soviet Union by a Spanish defense minister and the extension of bilateral dialogue to the military-political sphere are revealing additional prospects for USSR-Spanish collaboration in the interests of strengthening international security.

The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers spoke about the progress of restructuring in the Soviet Union, devoting particular attention to the upcoming USSR Congress of People's Deputies and yesterday's CPSU Central Committee plenum. Dwelling on processes of renewal in the military sphere, the head of the Soviet Government stressed the exclusively defensive character of Soviet military doctrine and the importance of the changes being made in this connection to the structure of the USSR Armed Forces and the measures to convert military production and utilize contemporary industrial and scientific-technical potential in this sphere to expand consumer goods production.

Both sides expressed interest in broadening Spanish-Soviet trade and economic relations, the current level of which does not accord with both countries' real potentials.

The Spanish defense minister wished success to restructuring in the USSR, which has become an important factor in world progress. He pointed out the importance of the USSR's initiatives in the disarmament sphere. Expounding his country's approaches to questions of European security, N. Serra stated that Spanish military policy is exclusively defensive in its orientation and is based on principles of minimum sufficiency.

Having expressed a positive assessment of the results of the first round of the Vienna talks on conventional armed forces and confidence-building measures in Europe, the sides advocated an active quest for ways to reach practical accords and overcome the stereotypes of confrontational thinking. In this context the Spanish minister's attention was drawn to the Soviet Union's recent additional proposals in Vienna.

In this connection it was noted that all the countries involved in the Vienna negotiating process are urged to make a constructive contribution to the elaboration of measures for real disarmament on the continent.

The Soviet side voiced ideas regarding the state of and prospects for the development of the military-political situation on the continent as a whole. It was noted that certain NATO members' desire to modernize tactical nuclear systems, which is in effect propelling Europe toward a new twist in the senseless arms race spiral, is arousing concern. This policy by no means accords with the Soviet Union's recent additional initiatives.

N.I. Ryzhkov and N. Serra stressed the importance of Soviet-Spanish dialogue on key questions of all-European policy, including its military aspect, which is developing successfully, and confirmed their readiness to expand collaboration on the basis of their close or similar conceptual approaches to the development of East-West relations.

Colonel General S.A. Dikov, deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff, and J. Cuenca, Spanish ambassador to the USSR, were present during the conversation.

Visits Leningrad

PM2305132589 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 23 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Report by "our correspondent" Colonel V. Streltsov: "Stay in Leningrad"]

[Text] Leningrad, 23 May—Today Spanish Defense Minister Narciso Serra, who is in the Soviet Union on an official visit, arrived in Leningrad. At Pulkovo Airport he was met by Lieutenant General V. Mironov, first deputy commander of Leningrad Military District, and other officials.

The Spanish defense minister visited Lieutenant General V. Mironov, who is temporarily acting as commander of the district. A dinner was given on behalf of the district commander in honor of the Spanish guest.

During his stay in Leningrad Spanish Defense Minister N. Serra visited the A.A. Grechko Naval Academy and was acquainted with the sights of the city on the Neva.

N. Serra was accompanied by Colonel General S. Dikov, deputy chief of General Staff of the USSR Armed Forces.

MiG Incident Will Not Harm Ties With Turkey

TA2305142789 Ankara ANATOLIA in Turkish 1355 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Ankara (AA)—Valter Sonya [name as received], first undersecretary at the Soviet Embassy in Ankara, has described the hijacking of the MiG-29 by Captain Zuyev as an isolated incident, adding: "Such incidents cannot damage our relations of friendship and good-neighborliness."

Speaking with journalists at a reception, Sonya was asked whether the incident would affect the visit of Soviet Foreign Minister Shevardnadze to Turkey. He replied: "It is out of the question for the incident to affect our bilateral relations."

The undersecretary also said that the "speedy" delivery of the MiG-29 to the Soviet authorities was appreciated.

Undersecretary Sonya pointed out that the pilot who hijacked the plane was a common criminal. He added: "We grant permission to whoever wants to leave the country. This man usurped state property by force and wounded a person. He is a common criminal."

Sonya said the Soviet Union is waiting for the Turkish authorities' decision in connection with the pilot.

Political & Social

People's Deputies Congress Preparations Continue

Gorbachev on Party Group Meeting

LD2305173289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Today, Comrade Gorbachev chaired a meeting of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies party group. Questions connected with holding the USSR Congress of People's Deputies were examined. We are going over to the great Kremlin Palace for a report.

[Unidentified correspondent] After the congress party group's session, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev came into Saint George Hall to register in his capacity as a USSR people's deputy. He walked up to a desk.

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] Where are the people? The only thing I was always against was [words indistinct] a machine [words indistinct] That is awful.

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev was talking to Comrade Dikul, USSR people's deputy. Comrades Ryzhkov, Lukayanov and Slyunkov are here. Mikhail Sergeyevich, this is the latest news from Mayak [Moscow Radio Second Program]. Can we ask you a question.

[Gorbachev] Of course. What is your question?

[Correspondent] Mikhail Sergeyevich, many deputies we talked to this morning said they wondered whether holding such a party group for deputies was expedient. What do you think about it now?

[Gorbachev] You know, I think we have come to a mutual understanding that the meeting was very useful. Moreover, we did act in this manner since the Communists form such a large majority in the number of USSR deputies. We thought: Well what about our nonparty comrades. We spoke openly. Comrade Adamovich made a speech. He asked to take the floor but there were other nonparty people who had put their name down. Approximately 27 people spoke. We agreed to finish at that point and summarize the results. Therefore, more people probably would have spoken.

Actually, you know, this is what I think is good. The deputies have arrived. They have gathered. They are now familiarizing themselves with the draft documents that are to be adopted by the congress. They are studying all the questions connected with the first day of its work, and in this connection are (?getting to know each other). They are exchanging opinions. I see the usefulness of the party group, first and foremost, in the fact that it was a very good meeting which deepened both the study of the problems which interest the deputies, and in some way brought them closer together. And one comrade who spoke even said: I thought that the party group was a waste of time, but now that it has been held in this atmosphere, and given the chance to discuss everything openly and in a businesslike way too, he said, it is a good thing that I was wrong.

[Unidentified speaker] All the more so since all the documents have been prepared on the basis of the proposals of the deputies themselves. They sent lots of documents with their proposals. Some came in from groups, all of them formed the basis...

[Gorbachev interrupting] No, you know, that isn't the main thing. The main thing is the mood of the deputies that we can feel. Their great sense of responsibility, their great concern to carry out the will and mandate of their electors, their great concern for the country. That is the main thing and I think that that is just what is creating the good preconditions for the congress to carry out its mission successfully because our people are expecting a lot from the congress.

[Unidentified speaker] This is not the first time I've been in Saint George's Hall, Mikhail Sergeyevich. But to speak frankly, this is the first time that I have heard conversations, speeches by delegates, and so on, with such positive commitment on the eve of a congress. You have a feeling that the congress will be held at white hot temperature.

[Gorbachev] I hope so. I think the congress will work effectively, and will make the decisions that justify the hopes of our people. [end recording]

32 More Deputies Elected

LD2305190289 Moscow TASS in English 1759 GMT 23 May 89

[By TASS correspondent Valeriy Kiosa]

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—The Central Electoral Commission is concluding the registration of USSR people's deputies elected during new voting. Another 32 deputies were registered at a regular meeting of the commission here on Tuesday.

The names of 122 USSR people's deputies who won in the new elections held in 76 territorial and 46 national-territorial districts from May 18 to May 21 have now become known. The results of new elections held on Tuesday in the remaining four districts will become known in the days ahead.

The Central Electoral Commission has been holding its meetings almost daily to promptly register the elected deputies. By preliminary data, there was acute competition everywhere. Suffice it to say that in some districts where tens of thousands of people took part in the voting the winner was decided by several hundred votes.

As is known, 750 territorial and 750 national-territorial election districts were formed in the USSR. On May 14, new elections were held in 198 districts, but not one of the candidates could win in the 126 out of these districts. This is quite natural, as the average number of candidates to one mandate rose from two during the elections on March 26 to six, while 10, 15 or even more candidates were registered in some districts. So in such cases there was the need to hold run-off elections on two candidates who earned the biggest number of votes.

Run-off elections are to be held in one of the territorial districts in Tataria, as none of the two candidates could win at the repeated elections held on May 14.

12 KGB Staffers Elected Deputies

18001071 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 20, 20-26 May 89 p 6

[Unattributed column: "The USSR KGB Informs and Comments"]

[Text] **The results of the last elections of USSR people's deputies remain in the center of Soviet people's attention. Readers wonder: Were there among the candidates for people's deputies any associates of the Committee for State Security? What were their programs, and which of them were elected?**

The candidacies of the committee's associates were nominated in a number of the country's electoral okrugs. Twelve Chekists received a vote of popular confidence: Major General D. Asankulov, KGB chairman of the Kirghiz Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR]; Maj Gen P.M. Arkhipov, KGB chairman of the Turkmen SSR; Maj Gen V.G. Badamyants, KGB chairman of the Armenian SSR; Lieutenant General V.G. Baluyev, KGB chairman of the Belorussian SSR; Lieutenant S.V. Belyayev, deputy chief of the political department for Komsomol work of the border brigade of the Far Eastern border okrug; Lt Gen N.V. Britvin, member of the Military Soviet of Border Troops, chief of the USSR KGB Political Administration of Border Troops; Lt Gen N.M. Golushko, KGB chairman of the Ukrainian SSR; Maj Gen I.I. Gorelovskiy, chairman of the Azerbaijani SSR; Colonel G.G. Gurmbaridze, KGB chairman of the Georgian SSR (elected Communist Party of Georgia Central Committee first secretary in April of this year); Maj Gen V.M. Miroshnik, KGB chairman of the Kazakh SSR; Maj Gen V.V. Petkel, KGB chairman of the Tajik SSR; and V.S. Sysoyev, chairman of the "Dinamo" Central Soviet.

Based on a common party platform, the pre-electoral programs of the Chekist candidates were distinguished by the concreteness, clarity and reality of their paths toward resolution of the problems facing them.

This is how Maj Gen V.V. Petkel, KGB chairman of the Tajik SSR, elected USSR people's deputy from the Murgabskiy National Territorial Okrug No 714 of the Gorno-Badakhshansk Autonomous Oblast, expressed his deputy's credo:

"I feel that my life's experience and the seat of the USSR people's deputy will enable me to help the workers of the Eastern Pamir solve many urgent problems, such as, for example, power and water supply to populated areas and farms, and the housing issue. I will work for the adoption of measures for the application of privileges to the workers of the high mountain areas similar to those applied in the Far North."

Having opportunities equal to those of their opposing candidates, the representatives of the Chekist organs participated actively in the pre-electoral campaign. They frequently met and talked with labor collectives and okrug residents; they held pointed discussions and gave interviews to the mass information media. Lt Sergey Belyayev, representative of the Komsomol of the Border Troops and the Amur Oblast, elected people's deputy from the Lenin All-Union Communist Youth League, held approximately 50 meetings with youth.

The Chekist candidates held a broad and open discussion with voters during the course of the pre-electoral meetings. In a departure from the previous common conceptions of a "closed" subject, they answered in detail a variety of questions concerning the KGB organs and their activity.

To a significant degree, the Chekists' victory in the elections was determined by their high personal qualities, their life position and the authority of the KGB organs among the people. Characteristic in this vein was the utterance of N.V. Britvin's opposing candidate, published in the local newspaper ZAFAR, that in the event of his failure to be elected, he would hand his program over to the reliable hands of his rival, and if he himself were the victor, then the border-general would be the first guest in his home.

Registration of Deputies Concludes

LD2305174889 Moscow TASS in English 1724 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—The registration of participants in a Congress of USSR People's Deputies concluded in the Kremlin on Tuesday. The registration of participants in the congress arriving in Moscow from all over the country lasted for four days. The congress will open here on May 25.

The registration procedure lasted just five minutes. Desks indicating election districts and organisations from which deputies have been elected were placed along the entire length of the Georgyevskiy Hall of the Kremlin Palace.

After checking the identity each delegate of the congress recieved a mandate of delegate of the congress, and along with it a file of documents necessary for work, including a collection of legislative acts linked with a deputy's activity. Soviet people expect from their 2,250 representatives above all, solution of economic problems, shaping of a law-governed socialist state, assertion of democratism at every level.

Georgiy Komarov, director of the Kirghiz Research Institute of Ecology and Prevention of Infectious Diseases, is one of the deputies registered today. He held blank forms marked "USSR People's Deputies." On these forms, delegates will be recording their legislative initiatives to be submitted for the consideration of the congress. Asked by TASS if he has such an intention and which problems he intends to tackle, Professor Komarov said: "As a specialist, I am particularly concerned with ecological problems. But as a people's deputy, I hold that full power of the soviets is the cardinal factor of perestroyka. My proposals will be linked with this."

The reform of the political system drew into the ranks of active supporters of renewal representatives of those groups of the population who had earlier been kept apart from participation in state affairs. Religious leaders are among them.

"That people representing religions became deputies to the supreme body of state authority attests to vast positive changes taking place in the country," said the supreme patriarch—Catholicos of all Armenians Vazgen the First. "We shall speak at the congress, first of all, about spiritual life, about the freedom of conscience. But I may also participate in other affairs related to the renewal of the life of the people and achievement of common benefits.

Tasks of Congress Outlined

LD2405085389 Moscow TASS in English 0710 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The Congress of People's Deputies opening in Moscow on May 25 is the new supreme body of state power in the Soviet Union.

The exclusive prerogatives of the 2,250-strong national legislature include the adoption and amending of the Soviet Constitution, decision-making on the country's national-state system, the definition of its state border, and the endorsement of changes in boundaries between constituent republics.

In addition, the congress has the power to set home and foreign policy guidelines and approve long-term state plans and the more important programmes for the country's economic and social development.

The constitution empowers it to elect the smaller working parliament—the USSR Supreme Soviet—with its president and first vice-president, endorse or reject a choice of the prime minister, the chairman of the People's Control Committee, the chief justice, the prosecutor-general and the chief state arbiter.

Besides, the congress elects the committee for constitutional compliance and is the only body with vested powers to repeal legislative acts passed by the Supreme Soviet. The congress also decides on holding referendums.

Its decisions are taken by a majority of its members.

The congress is to be convened once a year. The first meeting after elections (and this will be the case on May 25) is chaired by the head of the Central Electoral Commission.

Medvedev Comments on Start of Congress of Deputies

Sees Cohesion Among Delegates

LD2305223489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 23 May 89

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] Less than 2 days to go before the opening of the congress. The registration of the arriving delegates is coming to an end at the Grand Kremlin Palace. Here is Petr Orlov.

[Orlov] The final day for registration of the USSR people's deputies in the Kremlin. Many are coming here straight from the airports or railway stations, because elections—the last round of elections—ended the day before. Also here today are those who started the electoral campaign, delegates from the party. Even as you are watching our report, a meeting of the party group of USSR people's deputies is taking place here. In accordance with a decision of the Central Committee plenum, the issues of cadres and of the party platform at the congress, perhaps the most crucial issues signifying the multiplicity of aspects and the delegates viewpoints, have been submitted for examination by the party group of delegates. [video shows registration in progress; among delegates signing in are Vorotnikov, Yakovlev, and Medvedev; video cuts to political observer, A. Tikhomirov interviewing Medvedev]

[Begin recording] [Tikhomirov] I have also had the occasion to come across some delegates here who, generally speaking, as it seemed to me, were are inclined to go for a split, whereas what is necessary is to go for consolidation, as others say.

[Medvedev] I believe that the orientation toward consolidation is now shared by an unqualified majority of the people's deputies. That is heralded by many signs. That thrust is emerging quite clearly.

[Tikhomirov] That's right, because ultimately the people's deputies must work not for the sake of it being democratic, but in order for that democracy to improve the life of society.

[Medvedev] That is correct, so that there would be real results. Although democratic development is also a real result, I believe that these are not just targets, but also means for resolving the primary tasks, which might be [word indistinct]. [end recording] [passage omitted]

[Orlov interviews delegates Popov and Trofimov] [Orlov] Are you going to vote for Gorbachev as the country's president?

[Popov] Yes.

[Trofimov] Yes. That is a mandate of my voters among others. It is my duty to fulfill their will, and their will is identical with my point of view.

[Popov] At the same time, when voting for Mikhail Sergeyevich, we will of course have to thoroughly analyze all the problems facing us, the mistakes committed—well, in the contemporary period—so that that vote will not be some sort of a formal act, but an element of creative work.

Notes Anticipated Agenda

LD2305180289 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 May 89

[Interview with Vadim Andreyevich Medvedev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and Politburo member, by unidentified reporter; date and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] Vadim Andreyevich, our turbulent, interesting, very restless, and dynamic times are, in my opinion, best reflected here and now, in the preparations for the Congress of USSR People's Deputies. What are your impressions of everything that has happened on the eve of the congress.

[Medvedev] Well, I think that everything that was expressed in the course of the election campaign is now being concentrated here in Moscow, in the process of preparing for the congress and in the discussion of its issues. Very active work and preparations are taking place, and I think this is a necessary stage, and a simply obligatory kind of preparatory stage for the Congress of People's Deputies, a stage which will, I think, contribute to the Congress of People's Deputies to start it off in this kind of critical, businesslike, good, healthy atmosphere.

[Reporter] Vadim Andreyevich, the current supreme forum is very different from previous forums of the supreme bodies of power. People are different, too, more active and energetic, and there will naturally be different opinions, different points of view. What do you consider necessary to nevertheless reach a single decision in order to put our country onto the right path and lead it forward?

[Medvedev] Yes, I think that for this it simply is necessary for every people's deputy to want the discussion to lead to such socially and practically significant results and for this discussion not to aim at somehow laying some issues bare again, or at demonstrating their urgency once again, so to speak, but also to find practical ways of resolving them. And the people are expecting the congress will form supreme bodies of state power, bodies which will be able to solve the complex problems of today; and that these issues, these problems will be discussed in depth at the congress.

[Reporter] What do you personally expect from the congress?

[Medvedev] I think that the congress will simply be a kind of graphic demonstration of the extent of democracy which we have already achieved and for which we are striving, so that the congress will be a step along this path. Well, the process of democratization does not stop here. It will go further.

[Reporter] I wish you success. All the best.

Powers of New USSR Supreme Soviet Outlined

LD2405104989 Moscow TASS in English 1019 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—The Congress of People's Deputies meeting on May 25 is to elect the new USSR Supreme Soviet—the permanently working body of legislative, administrative and supervisory authority.

In keeping with the constitution, this smaller sitting parliament is to be elected from among the members of the Congress of People's Deputies.

The Supreme Soviet shall consist of two houses—the Council of the Union and the Council of Nationalities. The Congress is to annually replace one-fifth of the membership of each of them.

The Supreme Soviet is to hold two sessions—in spring and in autumn—a year, each for three or four months, as a rule.

It has the power to call general elections, endorse or reject the Central Electoral Commission, appoint the chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, endorse or reject the government proposed by the latter, make changes to the Council of Ministers, and set up or abolish USSR ministries and state committees on the government's recommendation.

The Supreme Soviet is empowered to elect the USSR People's Control Committee and the Supreme Court, and endorse or reject the Collegium of the USSR Prosecutor's Office and the Collegium of the USSR State Arbitration Agency.

In addition, it is entitled to regularly hear reports from bodies formed or elected by it, as well as from officials appointed by it, on their performance.

The Supreme Soviet's other mission is to ensure the consistency of legislative regulation throughout the country and establish the fundamentals of the law of the USSR and its constituent republics.

The Supreme Soviet is also to legislatively regulate property relations, the way the national economy and social and cultural development are managed, the budget and financial system, the pay system and pricing, taxation, environmental protection and the use of natural resources, and procedures for realising the constitutional rights, freedoms and duties of citizens.

Besides, the Supreme Soviet is to interpret laws of the USSR, define general principles and set guidelines for the activities of republican and local bodies of state power and administration, and determine the basis of the legal status of social organisations.

The Supreme Soviet is to submit draft long-term state plans and the more important programmes for the nation's economic and social development to the Congress of People's Deputies.

The permanently working parliament is also to approve state plans for the economic and social development of the USSR as well as the state budget, monitor the execution of the plans and budget, endorse reports on their fulfilment, and amend the plans and budget if necessary.

On top of this, the Supreme Soviet will ratify or denounce the country's international treaties and oversee loans and economic and other aid to foreign states.

Its prerogatives include a number of military matters. It has the power, for example, to form and endorse the Defence Council, appoint and replace the higher command of the Soviet Armed Forces, define principal defence and national security measures, call a general or partial mobilisation, and declare a state of war in the event of a military attack on the USSR or of the need to honour international treaty-based commitments regarding mutual defence from aggression.

The Supreme Soviet is responsible for decisions on using Soviet military contingents should it be necessary to meet international treaty-based commitments to maintain peace and security.

Apart from this, it will institute military, diplomatic and other special ranks as well as orders, medals and honorific titles of the USSR, and issue all-union amnesty decrees.

The Supreme Soviet is entitled to revoke decrees by its presidium and orders by the Supreme Soviet president and the prime minister. It also has the power to annul decisions and injunctions by the Councils of Ministers of constituent republics if they are at odds with the USSR Constitution or laws.

Details of People's Deputies Luzhniki Rally

Absence of Party's Role Noticed

PM2405082589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 23 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Special correspondents G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko report under the rubric "We Report Details": "Moscow Rally"]

[Text] A sanctioned rally organized by a number of unofficial associations, and addressed by USSR People's Deputies B. Yeltsin, A. Sakharov, A. Adamovich, I. Laptev, and others, was held in Luzhniki last Sunday.

Rallies are becoming a feature of the current period. People are striving to express their views on the political, economic, and social processes taking place in the country and to submit constructive proposals which, in their view, will help to put a stop more quickly to the negative phenomena inherited from the personality cult and stagnation periods. This desire imbued most of the sincere speeches on Sunday.

The people's deputies and representatives of social organizations talked about the complex economic situation in the country and the bureaucratic obstacles in the way of innovation, and looked for ways out of difficult situations. The justifiable criticism and each realistic and constructive proposal invariably won the approval of those present.

It should be noted that the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Main Administration for Internal Affairs had succeeded in ensuring clear-cut order at the rally, which was held, on the whole, in a calm atmosphere. Although, as in other such situations in various parts of the country, it did not pass without some, shall we say, excessively emotional speeches, slogans, and banners which had nothing to do with the ideas of consolidating the healthy forces of restructuring.

Some attacks that frankly insulted the party were also permitted.

It is strange that the party members attending the rally, including a member and candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee, paid no attention to this. Even I.D. Laptev, a deputy on behalf of the Communist Party and chief editor of IZVESTIYA, did not say a single word about the party's role in restructuring or about the fact that it was the CPSU that initiated the difficult process of democratizing society and opened the doors of glasnost—without which the rally at Luzhniki could not have been held.

You got the impression from certain speeches that certain people want to ascribe the party's services in renewing society to themselves and to make political capital out of it.

Yeltsin, Gdlyan Speeches 'Radical'

PM2405095189 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 23 May 89 Single Edition p 4

[Report by A. Gamov and S. Karkhanin: "Nothing Constructive Comes from Shouting: Comments From a Rally Held at Luzhniki Stadium"]

[Text] Moscow—As the opening day of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies approaches people's interest in the upcoming event is increasing countrywide and heightened attention to everything related to it is observable.

And there is nothing surprising in the fact that a rally devoted to the upcoming congress was held in the capital at one of the V.I. Lenin Central Stadium's sports grounds on Sunday—a rally in which not just Muscovites but also visitors to the capital and a group of people's deputies who have come for the congress took part.

Muscovites knew of the rally preparations in advance. Leaflets pasted up everywhere invited people to discuss a host of questions: the tasks of the upcoming Congress of People's Deputies, the tragedy of the "April events in Tbilisi," the situation prevailing in the "Uzbek case" investigation group, the progress of economic reform... True, the external signs made one wary. Flags of unusual hue—black, white, and red; white with a blue cross—fluttered here, there, and everywhere in the cold wind. There was only one red flag. A tall, thin man, after nailing up a placard reading "Sidorov, born 1952, theoretician and revolutionary, most prominent world scientist," collected signatures for a petition demanding that he be permitted to defend his "scientific" work ahead of turn. Trade in samizdat pamphlets at R1 or more a piece was brisk. One can obviously see in all this the key to the mechanism directing certain events at the rally.

What was the objective in holding it? L. Batkin, who described himself as chairman of the organizing committee, described it roughly as follows:

"We want to give a platform to representatives of various informal organizations who will want to take part in our discussion and try, despite differences of views, to formulate a common opinion regarding what is taking place in our country."

In short, a call for pluralism of opinion was proclaimed. In actuality, however, it all looked quite different. Various people, including some well-known ones, took the floor and expressed themselves diversely, as indeed they should. On listening to the tape recordings again, you appreciate that quite a few sensible ideas were expressed about constant contacts between people's deputies and the electorate during the work of the upcoming congress, the need to set up local soviets with proper powers, the need to ensure that legislative policy remains constructive...

But far from all speakers sought businesslike, concrete discussion. Their goal was quite different—to win the greatest applause. The method is well known: the flashy phrase, the "bold" slogan, and the blanket criticism devoid of serious argument. And it seems that toward the end of the rally people had already begun to grow tired of constant reminders about particular difficulties and troubles of ours. "Transform the Congress of People's Deputies into a constituent assembly!", "All our troubles are the result of machinations by the apparatus!", and "Every deputy is primarily a deputy and only secondly a communist!" Such strange speeches were made in complete earnest, as it were. A representative of the infamous "democratic union," which doggedly seeks to acquire notoriety, staggered the rally with a call "To be ready for civil disobedience against the criminal authorities." And a figure from some "confederation of anarchosyndicalists" summed up the gist of all these threats with heartfelt simplicity when he said from the rostrum: "We should sit down at the table with the authorities and make them concede." The "trying out for size of portfolios" in the future Supreme Soviet and government also came over as ridiculous.

It is difficult to explain such ploys other than as an arrogant game, and passions there were undoubtedly heated by ambition and a morbid desire for self-assertion. And although almost all the representatives of informal groups upbraided the country's leadership for its lack of a positive program, it became perfectly clear that they themselves do not have one.

The speech B.N. Yeltsin made to the rally, in which he notably tried to pass off as ultimate truth the proposals of a certain "group of Moscow deputies" regarding the organization of the upcoming congress, was bound to cause bewilderment. T. Gdlyan's speech was frankly publicity-seeking.

"Comrades, I am not afraid of that word!" was how frontline veteran Klokov, who served as a sergeant throughout the war, began his speech. This ex-soldier and holder of combat decorations was one of the few to address the assembly in this way: The majority preferred to use the term "fellow-citizens." He tried to convince people that the slogan "Down with!" did not of itself achieve anything and that nothing constructive came from shouting. But the throng around the rostrum greeted his words with whistles and jeers. "Where is pluralism here, then? Why do you not let me speak?—the veteran said with an air of surprise. His question remained unanswered. Those who interrupted him have their own idiosyncratic understanding of freedom of expression—only that standpoint which coincides with their own deserves the right to be expressed. A. Yeliseyev, cosmonaut and rector of Moscow's N.E. Bauman Higher Technical College soon learned this for himself. He was persistently prevented from speaking... Was this not because common sense would have sorted many things out?

After the rally we asked A. Yeliseyev how he rated the spectacle that had taken place at the sports grounds.

"The discussion did prove to be one-sided, of course. You need more people putting forward constructive standpoints on what is happening to speak at such rallies. Many deputies were clearly unaware that this event had been planned. I, for example, only learned about it by chance."

And how are you to interpret the promise to "observe pluralism of opinions" given by the rally organizers at the very start of the discussion? We put this question to L. Batkin. And this is what he said:

"The people gathered today were basically radical. We can't make people listen to things they don't want to, can we?"

There is nothing simpler than to state that one thing is bad, that another hasn't worked, and to demand that someone be punished. It is much tougher to put forward a realistic, well-founded program and take part in its implementation. Those who have chosen precisely this path did figure among the speakers at the rally of people's deputies. One can be certain that this path will prove far thornier than rending the air with calls to smash all and sundry. But it is certainly more necessary today.

Polls Show Voters Support People's Deputies

LD2405110789 Moscow TASS in English 1100 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 24 TASS—Most voters in large Soviet cities are for delegating all real supreme power in the country to the new Congress of People's Deputies, according to the findings of a public opinion poll published in the MOSCOW NEWS weekly today.

The survey was conducted on May 7-10 by the national institute for public opinion study among 1,100 people in Moscow, Kiev, Alma-Ata, Riga, Krasnoyarsk, Perm and Stavropol.

Even if not extensive enough to predict the opinions of all Soviet people, the study was designed to reflect the views held by adults in major cities, the weekly said.

A total of 87 per cent of respondents believed that the congress, meeting on May 25, should not only elect the permanently working parliament—the Supreme Soviet—but also deal with other urgent business.

Eighty-nine per cent thought it essential for the congress to discuss the economic, social and political situation in the country and a general programme for further advance, while 79 per cent believed that it should discuss interethnic relations.

More than three-quarters favoured absolute public openness about the congress, including the live television and radio coverage of proceedings and the publication of all speeches in the press.

Yeltsin, Ryzhkov 2d Most Popular Politicians

LD2205222989 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 22 May 89

[Text] In the Soviet Union some 10,000 people have been polled, aged 14 to 29. Eighty-two percent believe that the policy of restructuring has had the biggest effect on the country's foreign policy. Changes for the better can already be seen there. As for home policy, 50 percent of those polled admit positive changes. That applies first of all to democratization in society and openness. In the opinion of the young people, things are worst in the economy. Forty-nine percent believe that there is only talk about change in that field, nothing practical.

Mikhail Gorbachev has been named the most popular political leader of the Soviet Union. Next come Boris Yeltsin and Nikolay Ryzhkov. And as for foreign politicians, they are Ronald Reagan and Margaret Thatcher.

Election Day Candidate Profile 'To Be Regretted'

PM1905121189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 19 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

["When All of Us Have To Learn"—IZVESTIYA headline]

[Text] Today we are repeating more and more frequently, and with good reason, the call of our times exhorting us to "learn democracy." We are repeating it on the pages of newspapers and on television screens, at crowded meetings, and in business offices. It is not a simple art. And not just because until recently there was no demand for it, because it was possible to get by without it in day-to-day life. It is difficult also because we are having to learn it as we go along, in the process of the rapid political renewal of society. And our thinking and actions are still not always equal to the prevailing situation. This can sometimes lead to the creation of tension for no good reason at all, out of the blue, as they say. This is what happened, judging by readers' letters to the editorial office, after the publication in issue No 134 of this newspaper of an interview with Hero of Socialist Labor N. Travkin by an IZVESTIYA journalist, in which the former replied to letters written in response to a previous article.

The interview was prepared in advance, not at the same time, and neither the questions nor the answers were in the nature of a campaign for a candidate for people's deputy. In addition, certain readers criticized N. Travkin for his economic views. However, since some copies of the newspaper ended up in Shchelkovskiy Electoral Okrug No 45, where N. Travkin was running as a candidate 14 May, some people have suggested that his candidacy should have been withdrawn on the basis that he was allegedly campaigning on the day of the elections.

Naturally, N. Travkin is not to blame for the fact that the interview with him was published precisely at that time. Nor did the editorial board have any intention of campaigning for him or pitting him against other, no less worthy candidates. However, this shows once again that in the process of "learning democracy," in the building of the rule-of-law society, it is necessary to take account of everything, down to the smallest detail. Otherwise, instead of doing good, you may prevent a person from fully exercising his constitutional right to vote or be elected.

It is only to be regretted that our item created additional difficulties for the USSR people's deputy candidates in their election struggle in that okrug.

[Signed] The IZVESTIYA Editorial Board

PRAVDA Reports on 23 May Presidium Session

PM2405100589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 First Edition p 1

[TASS report: "USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Session"]

[Text] A session of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium was held 23 May under the chairmanship of M.S. Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee and chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

In accordance with the instructions from the USSR Supreme Soviet, questions linked with organizing preparations for the sessions of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies were examined. A number of documents, elaborated taking account of proposals from USSR people's deputies, will be submitted for examination by the Congress and by the USSR Supreme Soviet which will be elected.

Gdlyan, Ivanov Duck Meeting With Law Enforcers

PM2405101989 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "Meeting at the Editorial Office"]

[Text] A meeting was held yesterday on the initiative of the PRAVDA editorial board with the following law enforcement organ staffers: G. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov, investigators from the USSR Prosecutor's Office; A. Sboyev, acting chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigation section; A. Dukhanin, chief of a USSR KGB Investigation Directorate department; M. Marov, member of the USSR Supreme Court; and O. Litvak, investigator for particularly important cases under the USSR Prosecutor's Office.

The meeting was preceded by hundreds of letters and cables from readers asking for open dialogue between T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov on the one hand and the law enforcement organ workers involved in studying the complaints from a number of citizens on the other.

People's deputies T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov, who were allowed to speak first. They began their speeches with a statement to the effect that they did not consider it necessary to take part in this conversation and that they could tell everything necessary to another, more competent and authoritative audience. They also noted that they did not have enough time, since they had to take part in the session of the congress party group. They declined the editorial board's invitation to come after that session.

The editorial board's proposal to hold a conversation with Comrades T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov still holds good.

The conversation with the other comrades lasted more than 3 hours.

Reaction to Commission's Findings on Gdlyan Case

Gdlyan Techniques 'Criminal'

PM2305140189 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 22 May 89 Morning Edition p 4

[Interview with A.V. Buturlin, Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic deputy prosecutor and former Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic prosecutor, by observer Yu. Feofanov: "Only the Law Can Protect Our Rights and Guarantee the Triumph of Truth and Justice"—date and place not given]

[Text] The editorial office received a telephone call from T.Kh. Gdlyan following the publication of the material "Nostalgia for the 'Queen'..." by IZVESTIYA (issue No 92). In his opinion, this material did not merit publication and he wished to publish a rebuttal. The editorial office fully agreed to this but absolutely nothing was sent to us. Meanwhile, the newspaper keeps receiving signed and anonymous telegrams demanding that T.Kh. Gdlyan be given an opportunity to have his say. Letters arrive asking: What are the specific breaches with which the investigators, who exposed official bribe-takers and embezzlers, are charged? IZVESTIYA observer Yu. Feofanov asked A. Buturlin, who worked as Uzbekistan's prosecutor in 1984-1987 (now he is deputy prosecutor of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic) to discuss the situation which has developed.

[Feofanov] In my opinion, the years while you worked in the republic saw the culmination of the exposure of thieves and bribe-takers, even though everything started somewhat earlier. Could you, Aleksey Vladimirovich, clue our readers in? Having been the republic prosecutor, exercising ultimate supervision over the legality of investigation and trial, you must have known "everything."

[Buturlin] Is is well known that the most serious damage was inflicted on the economy by the abuses involving cotton. They extended to almost all rayons and farms in the republic. Exaggerated reporting and window-dressing in cotton procurements provided the most fertile breeding ground for embezzlement on a huge scale and unprecedented bribe-taking. Several billions of rubles were embezzled. Tens of thousands of people were involved in criminal activity.

It must be said that the criminal pyramid which emerged, parasitizing on the labor of millions of villagers, skillfully protected itself by using the largely corrupt system of internal affairs organs headed by former Minister Yakhyayev and "servile" prosecutors and judges operating according to the principle of "What can I do for you?" It was necessary to firmly put an end to all this.

Constant support from the CPSU Central Committee and the union law enforcement organs enabled us to complete and send for trial several hundred cases involving embezzlers and bribe-takers. More than 4,500 officials were sentenced.

I was first sent to Uzbekistan on official business in 1980, when I worked as chief of the USSR Prosecutor's Office Investigations Section. At that time we were investigating the abuses of power by Yakhyayev whom I mentioned earlier. Our group established some absolutely scandalous facts. Criminal cases were being fabricated, innocent people were being sentenced by courts on the basis of forged materials, sane people were being interned in psychiatric hospitals, arbitrariness and illegality reigned. We obtained incontrovertible proof. I was invited for a chat with Rashidov at the time. A number of republic leaders were with him. They all gave enthusiastic character references for their minister of internal affairs. Rashidov did the same.

The group was recalled to Moscow literally the next day. I suspended the criminal case "because of the impossibility of conducting investigation activities in Uzbekistan." V.V. Naydenov, USSR deputy prosecutor general, failed to convince the CPSU Central Committee leadership at the time that it was necessary to pursue the investigation in Uzbekistan.

[Feofanov] These facts obviously came to the surface during the Churbanov case trial. The court collegium suddenly heard that, in addition to the bribe-taking charges, Yakhyayev still had to answer a mass of other accusations running into several volumes, but he had not been charged accordingly. As far as I can understand, this is a gross breach of the law.

[Buturlin] And how! I believe that Yakhyayev's main unlawful actions, his tyrannical treatment of people, were deliberately concealed from the court by the investigators.

[Feofanov] All the cases we have mentioned are associated in the public's mind with the names of T. Gdlyan and N. Ivanov, who were recently elected USSR people's deputies. The very fact of their election is evidence of the investigators' high standing in the eyes of public opinion. Unfortunately, I have had little contact with them. But I did once meet them and have a lengthy conversation with them. No matter what may be said about them now, I personally got the impression that they are consistent and staunch fighters against bribe-takers and thieves who are not over-awed by ranks and titles. At the same time, I could not agree with their statements vilifying a legal verdict and denigrating the court's dignity. Now there is talk about unlawful methods of investigation. As you may realize, I do not and cannot have any reliable facts on this account.

[Buturlin] Yes, you are correct. Gdlyan and Ivanov are dogged and persistent people. It is well known, however, that the legal path alone offers guarantees against tragic mistakes, of which there are already more than enough in our history. Unfortunately there are times when, in order to expose, as swiftly as possible, someone who is obviously a criminal from the investigator's point of view, some workers deem it possible to deviate from the law's rigid norms. The scale of breaches is flexible [bezrazmernyy], ranging from apparently insignificant and what some people call purely formal requirements to physical and psychological influence on witnesses, suspects, and the accused. It is by no means always that these base means come to the surface immediately (think back on the tragic consequences of trials in the late thirties). As for the public and at times even the court, they look only at end results and, in their view, the dominant role is played by the "queen" of proof—the admission of guilt. The way of attaining the goal for whose sake illegal means were applied often remains a total secret.

Investigators Gdlyan and Ivanov did not bother too much about observing the law's requirements. Gdlyan's statement was widely circulated in Tashkent: "What sort of legality could exist in Uzbekistan which was bribery-ridden throughout?"

The methods used by Gdlyan and Ivanov were in themselves criminal, if we do not mince our words. Why was Yakhyayev not charged with tyrannical treatment of innocent people? Simply because Investigator Gdlyan started playing a kind of game with him. You stick to the testimonies that you paid bribes to Churbanov and the others, and we will shut our eyes to the crimes against people and the administration of justice. Only thus can one explain the concealment from the court of volumes of inculpatory evidence.

I am convinced that any deal between an investigator and a criminal, no matter what noble goals it might pursue, produces the opposite result. Major criminals evade liability, and petty criminals are corrupted by the belief that "it is always possible to do a deal" with the administration of justice. Here are the facts. Gdlyan's group adopted the practice of distributing indulgences, as it were, in Uzbekistan. What do I mean? Under the law, a bribe-giver is not punishable if extortion was involved or if he reported the bribe-giving on his own initiative.

This is where an investigation often teeters on the extremely slippery boundary between the law and illegality. Cases in which someone who has given a bribe appears before investigating organs to report this on an absolutely voluntary basis (which is what the law demands!) are extremely rare. More often than not these—to put it mildly—not quite voluntary statements appear in the wake of relevant conversations at internal affairs or prosecutor's office organs.

There are times when these circumstances, concealed from outsiders' eyes by the secrecy of investigation, produce statements beginning with a handful of stereotype phrases, something along the lines of "Conscience forbids me to keep silent..." And it is, of course, impossible to rule out a slanderous slant in such cases.

[Feofanov] Are there any specific facts?

[Buturlin] As many as you like. Some were mentioned in the official report. Muzaffarov, chief of the Bukhara Internal Affairs Administration's Struggle Against Embezzlement of Socialist Property and Speculation Administration, regularly received bribes of up to R200,000! from trade workers and staffers of the internal affairs organs. When they testified accordingly, they were promised that they would not be touched. And they were not touched. Furthermore, they were left at the posts they had bought and held, without anything being reported to the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], or to party committees when Communists were involved. During the hearing of the case of Karimov, first secretary of the Bukhara Oblast party committee [obkom], it emerged that bribe-givers who had been useful to the investigators had simply been transferred to other and equally comfortable positions. Sultanov, chairman of the Bukhara City Soviet Executive Committee [gorispolkom] who had paid a bribe of R40,000, became deputy chief of "Oblkommundrenazh"; Saidov, deputy chairman of the oblast consumer cooperative (R34,000), was transferred to the position of chief accountant; and Kurbanov, first secretary of Kaganskiy Rayon party committee, remained... chief of the oblast Vocational and Technical Education Administration, even though the investigators knew that he had given Karimov a bribe of R10,000.

[Feofanov] But surely it was not Gdlyan who moved them from one position to another?

[Buturlin] But he did break off the investigation. And bribe-givers were illegally issued with certificates that "elements of crime were absent from their actions" and that "the USSR Prosecutor's Office Investigating Groups has no claims" against them. The investigators did everything possible to ensure that the lawbreakers they "needed" were not even expelled from the party. All this constitutes not only an illegal conspiracy with criminal elements but also unscrupulous methods of work which are totally incompatible with the ethics of investigation.

Yes, some former party committee leaders in Uzbekistan were charged with very serious crimes, with bribe-taking. They must stand trial. But in almost all cases the wives, children, and other relatives were locked up under guard for periods ranging between 1 to 9 months. This of course had a powerful psychological effect on the accused.

[Feofanov] I did hear about this. But, as far as I know, they were suspected of complicity.

[Buturlin] There were some such suspicions. But the arrests were used solely for the purpose of obtaining evidence and this is against the law. These were gross methods of influence, incompatible with legality. They smack of 1937.

[Feofanov] All that you described is extremely serious. But, excuse me, Aleksey Vladimirovich, why did the prosecutor's supervision failed, as the saying goes, to nip such methods in the bud?

[Buturlin] For me, and probably for many Prosecutor's Office workers, this is a very complex question. You have a clearly abnormal situation when one and the same prosecutor is in charge of the investigation and of supervising it. This prevents the prompt detection and elimination of any breaches of legality. This is what happened with the case with which Gdlyan was dealing. Of course, USSR Deputy Prosecutors General O.V. Soroka and A.F. Katusev were informed of the breaches of legality committed by investigators Gdlyan and Ivanov. But everyone was only too well aware that a very important case was being processed, that really major bribe-takers were being exposed. Prosecutors at times shut their eyes to the snowballing breaches of legality "in the interests of the cause." They felt that breaches could be eliminated sometime "later on." At the same time, however, the investigators' ambitions and rejection of any criticism were growing. They perceived remarks as a desire to prevent the exposure of the mafia.

In their desire to avoid any criticism of their illegal methods of investigation, Gdlyan and Ivanov turned to the mass media. And some of them launched a campaign on an unprecedentedly broad scale, often involving patent juggling with the facts and speculation with the public's keen interest in an active struggle against corruption. It is well known that kings are made by those surrounding them. And suddenly Gdlyan proclaimed himself to be a most celebrated person, leader of "the largest investigating group ever in the Soviet state's history," and his activity to be "the brainchild of restructuring." In my view, journalists G. Ovcharenko and A. Chernenko played a rather unseemly role. Their article "The Cobras Are Losing Their Sting," published in PRAVDA, made the following known to all "interested persons": "And yet the investigating group has not broken a single one of its promises. Everyone should know this."

In the atmosphere of such publicity, when any disagreement or criticism is proclaimed to be a counteraction to restructuring, an objective appraisal of criminal cases is extremely difficult. And this is precisely what the intention behind it all was. I do not think that this is the place to sort out all the twists and turns of the cases involving Churbanov, Yakhyayev, and others. But I cannot fail to mention the great courage displayed by Comrade Marov, member of the USSR Supreme Court and chairman of the Military Collegium, with whom I am unfortunately not acquainted. This is exactly the way an independent judiciary should behave, without succumbing to any stirring up of passions.

As a matter of fact, it was back in 1986 that the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Court, when hearing the case of Mizaffarov and others, issued an interlocutory order concerning gross violations of legality by the investigating groups which had come to light. When hearing the case of Sattarov, former chief of Tashkent Gorispolkom Internal Affairs Administration, and because of insufficient evidence, the Moscow Oblast Court and subsequently the RSFSR Supreme Court reduced the amount of bribes received by him from R7,499 (involving 33 occasions) as charged by the investigating group, to 3 occasions of accepting bribes in the form of products worth a total of R300.

The Uzbek SSR Supreme Court has only just finished hearing the case of Khaitov, former chief of Navoi Oblast Internal Affairs Administration. The state prosecuting attorney in this case, a prosecutor from the USSR Prosecutor's Office central apparatus, dropped 26 charges of bribery from Khaitov's indictment (out of the 28 charges filed by Gdlyan's investigating group). The court exonerated Khaitov on 27 bribery charges and, on 1 charge, referred the case back for additional investigation and issued an interlocutory order concerning breaches of legality. All these are consequences of the base methods applied by the investigating group, of the unwillingness and inability to work properly on establishing the evidence. When all efforts are aimed solely at getting confessions, any retraction of testimony already given results in failure, and consequently the criminal evades the full measure of punishment.

[Feofanov] How did mutual relations develop between the republic Prosecutor's Office and Gdlyan's and Ivanov's investigating group?

[Buturlin] I must say that other groups headed by Sviderskiy, Lyubimov, Kalinichenko, Korolev, Maydanyuk, and Mavrin, investigators for especially important cases under the USSR Prosecutor General, also worked in Uzbekistan at different times. The closest possible collaboration was established with all investigating groups, and any emerging questions were resolved jointly. Formally, however, such investigating groups are subordinate only to the USSR Prosecutor's Office. There are no provisions at all governing an investigating group's activity or its mutual relations with the leaders of law enforcement organs in the region where the group operates. This is one of the complicating factors which at times—just as it happened in our case—produce breaches of legality.

Initially, work plans were jointly elaborated and necessary measures implemented also with the Gdlyan-Ivanov group. As a rule, the arrest of those accused of bribetaking was authorized by the USSR deputy prosecutor general. But there were also cases when these questions had to be resolved on the spot. For example, I directly arrested Kamalov and Khudaybergenov, former first secretaries of Karakalpak and Khorezm Party Obkoms respectively, and several other leadership workers including... Kakhramanov, former deputy minister of internal affairs, who was subsequently acquitted by the USSR Supreme Court.

Gdlyan and Ivanov had an extremely abnormal reaction to my demands about the need for rigid observance of the law, for painstaking work to establish the evidence, and for prevention of evasion of liability by major embezzlers and bribe-takers. The group was increasingly isolating itself, and the leadership of the Union Prosecutor's Office was losing its control over it.

In my view, the Union Prosecutor's Office is even now adopting an inconsistent stance. Public opinion is excited. Gdlyan and Ivanov are exciting passions by making irresponsible statements at numerous meetings with working people and at various rallies. But the leadership of the State Prosecutor's Office has simply failed to announce its attitude toward breaches and direct perversions of legality.

But I am not trying to evade your question: "What was the republic prosecutor doing?" Just read through copies of documents I sent to central authorities.

On 11 May 1987, in other words 2 years ago: "In some instances, much of the positive work done by the State Prosecutor's Office investigating groups in the republic is unfortunately accompanied by deviations from the principles of legality and incorrect investigating methods applied by the group led by T.Kh. Gdlyan and N.V. Ivanov, investigators for especially important cases under the USSR Prosecutor General. This group's actions at times extend beyond the powers vested with preliminary investigation organs and constitute a graphic example of negative consequences ensuing when the same persons are in charge of conducting and supervising the investigation... The investigators establish nonprocedural relations with some of the accused, and there are instances of approaches being made via promises to set lesser punishments out of proportion with what has been done and of the number of charges being artificially reduced... Dozens of staffers of internal affairs organs who had given bribes have been left at their former "purchased" positions, since the commission of grave crimes by them was concealed from the MVD leadership and was not reported to party committees... When breaches of legality by the investigating group started coming to light as the republic's Supreme Court, with participation by a state prosecutor from the USSR Prosecutor's Office, was hearing the criminal case of Muzaffarov, Kudratov, and others, attempts were made initially to directly pressure the court and later on even to replace the entire court panel... I have repeatedly approached the USSR Prosecutor's Office leadership regarding the need to eliminate breaches of legality in the group's activity."

Let me emphasize: This document was sent by my interlocutor to the very top 1 year before the 19th party conference, just before which T. Gdlyan's and N. Ivanov's names became widely known.

[Feofanov] I would like to touch upon the following question. It is well known that many suspects are kept in custody for years, and this is clearly against the law. The investigators have their own reasons. The mafia is a ramified criminal organization and the knots of crime cannot be undone within the time limits set by law. So what are we to do? they ask. Set them free? This would mean ruining the investigation. It is hard to disagree with this reasoning. But the counterargument runs: The law is the law. What is the solution?

[Buturlin] I am entirely in favor of judicially extending the time limit for detention under guard. As a matter of fact, the really legitimate time limit is now set at 2 months. This is followed by "exceptions": On the strength of circumstances, an oblast prosecutor can extend it to 3 months, a republic prosecutor to 6 months, and the general prosecutor to 9 months. But these are sham restrictions. Send the case to trial—months under guard; the court remits the case for further investigation—another month; and so on and so forth. I am in favor of a situation whereby, after say 2 months' detention under guard, a court on at least the oblast level should decide the fate of a citizen whose guilt is yet to be proved.

It is also necessary to accelerate the solution of the question of giving defense attorneys access to the process at an early stage of the investigation. Then the perversions of legality I listed and the establishment of nonprocedural relations between investigators and the accused will be simply impossible.

[Feofanov] And one last question. Are you, Aleksey Vladimirovich, prepared to meet Gdlyan for, say, a free debate on these questions?

[Buturlin] Of course I am prepared.

FROM THE EDITORIAL OFFICE: First of all, let us go back to the beginning of this item. We are still prepared to publish a detailed conversation with T.Kh. Gdlyan.

And now something else. The gravest consequences of this entire epic story is that public opinion has been brought in confrontation with the law—eyeball to eyeball. Speculating with the perfectly understandable feelings of working people who are indignant at the scale of corruption among officials involved in the crimes, workers who are called upon to uphold the law have deemed it possible to disregard the norms of the law, to pass their own sentences prior to trial, to arrest people and hold them in jail for years without adequate proof of guilt, to apply repressions against the families of suspects, and to "extract" the testimony they need.

An infelicitous role was also played by the mass media, which joined in discrediting people who cannot be considered criminals until the court's verdict, exciting the public and actually setting it against those who have yet to stand trial.

False admissions, self-accusations, or retractions of evidence at court sessions could have been avoided. There simply would not have been any if a defense attorney had participated from an earlier stage of the preliminary investigation, if the investigation had been separate from the prosecutor's supervision. The need for this was stated in the 19th party conference resolution "On Legal Reform," and the press has written a lot about this. But the public still has no idea of how the legislators will resolve this question.

Only the law and an uncompromising adherence to its spirit and letter will protect Soviet people from arbitrariness and will uphold their rights. Only the law will make it possible to successfully combat the mafia, corruption, bribery, and embezzlement. Any other path "bypassing the law," no matter what reasons might be used to justify it, can only play into the criminals' hands.

Nobody and nothing must be above the law.

Revoking of Deputy Credentials Urged

PM2305161389 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 May 89 Morning Edition p 6

[Letter from officials of Tallinn "Dezintegrator" science and production association, followed by IZVESTIYA editorial office commentary: "Different Perceptions of Glasnost"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] This letter was brought to IZVESTIYA by voluntary courier from Estonia. Initially the editorial office did not intend to publish it. However, public attention to the tragic story described in it, the importance of the questions raised in it, and the intention of the writers to appeal directly to the USSR Congress of People's Deputies force us to print it. In our opinion it deals with an extraordinary situation. We are publishing it in full.

The collective of the "Dezintegrator" science and production association (Tallinn City, Estonian Soviet Socialist Republic) in connection with the resolution of the USSR Supreme Court plenum dated 25 April 1989 and the private [chastnyy] resolution of that plenum on the so-called "Khint affair," and also in connection with the PRAVDA reports dated 1 May, 8 May, and 13 May 1989, considers it necessary on the basis of the USSR Law "On Elections of USSR People's Deputies" to demand that the Central Electoral Commission for the Election of USSR People's Deputies and the Credentials Commission of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies examine and resolve the question of revoking the registration of USSR People's Deputy T.Kh. Gdlyan and that the credentials commission not present his deputyship credentials for examination and ratification by the USSR Congress of People's Deputies.

It is clear from the aforementioned official reports that T.Kh. Gdlyan, senior investigator of especially important cases at the USSR Prosecutor General's Office, who ran in Moscow City's Tushinskiy No 25 Territorial Okrug, headed a group of investigators in a number of cases in which he systematically committed crude violations of the procedural norms and used unlawful methods and means during investigations, including intimidation, blackmail, threats, and pressure on relatives.

The whole range of these methods, taken from the arsenal of the shameful Stalinist days, was used in particular during the investigation of the nationally and internationally well-known case of Iokhannes Aleksandrovich Khint, an eminent Estonian scientist and inventor, Lenin Prize winner, and doctor of technical sciences, who headed the "Dezintegrator" special industrial design bureau (SKTB).

Many glaring facts could be cited in addition to those set out in OGONEK issue No 40 of 1988 and also in PRAVDA on 8 May 1989 (No 128) in the private resolution of the USSR Supreme Court. I.A. Khint's associates, who through the fault of T.Kh. Gdlyan spent several years in strict-regime prisons and who have now been fully rehabilitated, can cite actual statistics to show how the "investigator of especially important cases" tried to force them (without success, it is true) to give false evidence against I.A. Khint. In the process he used such "classical methods" as threats to apply the supreme measure of punishment against them or to publish in the central press information accusing them of being major embezzlers, bribe takers, and smugglers; or, on the other hand, to free them from investigation on condition that they agree to give false and slanderous evidence against I.A. Khint.

T.Kh. Gdlyan's efforts resulted in the untimely death in prison in 1985 of I.A. Khint, who had been groundlessly incarcerated there since 1981, the unlawful conviction of a number of his colleagues, major damage caused to the national economy as a result of the discontinuation of work on the large-scale application of disintegrator equipment (around R6 billion), loss of considerable revenues in foreign currency (more than R70 million) from the utilization by foreign firms of SKTB designs, and the disruption of successfully developing international economic, scientific, and technical specific contractual relations between "Dezintegrator" and a number of countries. At the same time incalculable profound moral damage was inflicted on the entire "Dezintegrator" collective and a wide circle of partnership organizations which cooperated with it, along with the loss of many people's faith in the possibility of the restoration of Leninist democracy and social justice in our country.

We see the biggest danger in this affair in the fact that T.Kh. Gdlyan has a false conception of morality and justice. He regards the objective assessments of his activity by the country's highest court authority as incorrect and incompetent, and has been sounding off on television and in the press about some kind of a "plot" against him, gambling on his cheap popularity among the people and masquerading as the country's only and chief fighter against the mafia.

The entire collective of our association believes that T.Kh. Gdlyan in no circumstances deserves the lofty title of USSR people's deputy either as regards his personal qualities or his character and past actions, and especially because his campaign program is sharply at variance with his practical activities, which testifies to his insincerity vis-a-vis the voters.

We impatiently await the publication in the press and on television and radio—prior to the beginning of the work of the USSR Congress of People's Deputies—of the results of the work of the CPSU Central Committee Commission and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium Commission (PRAVDA 1 May 1989 and 13 May 1989, Nos 121 and 133), and we are confident that the activities of T.Kh. Gdlyan will be objectively and justly assessed by both the CPSU Central Committee and the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium.

We hope that our collective, which consists of 660 people and which has personally tasted the bitter fruits of T.Kh. Gdlyan's activities, will be briefed on the decisions which you adopt.

This letter has been examined and approved by:
—a session of the labor collective council of 15 May 1989, protocol No 17;
—session of the party bureau of 17 May 1989, protocol No 13.

[Signed] Yu. Eyelma, general director; E. Moks, party bureau secretary; K. Eysel, chairman of the trade union committee; A. Reyska, chairman of the labor collective council.

Attached to the letter is a copy of the newspaper SOVETSKAYA ESTONIYA of 18 May 1989, issue No 115, which features an article under the title "Iokhannes Khint's Last Word."

From the Editorial Office:
In recent days IZVESTIYA has received many telegrams, including collective ones, whose authors accuse the newspaper of making one-sided assessments of the activity of T. Gdlyan's investigative group and failing to observe the principles of glasnost and demand that T. Gdlyan be granted an opportunity to write in IZVESTIYA. In particular, at a rally in Zelenograd a number of resolutions and appeals were adopted, including to the mass media, and a committee organized there in support of T. Gdlyan is threatening a strike. In this connection the editors deem it necessary to give the addressees the following explanations.

First, and chiefly: IZVESTIYA has never denied T. Gdlyan the right to publish his viewpoint in public. Moreover, the newspaper has repeatedly—and long before the present inflamed situation, to put it bluntly, arose—put to him, the leader of the USSR Prosecutor's Office investigative group, a proposal to openly discuss questions connected with the group's activity.

In order to adduce proof, let us cite the facts in chronological order. During the first days of September IZVESTIYA observer Yu. Feofanov suggested that T. Gdlyan write in IZVESTIYA under the rubric "Legal Dialogues," which is popular with readers, and, on receiving his verbal consent, sent him written questions.

No reply followed.

In April 1989 ("Nostalgia for the 'Empress,'" IZVESTIYA No 92), in a commentary on a letter from Major General of Justice F. Titov, retired, we made public the fact of the discussion that failed to materialize. Let us cite our observer's commentary: "Therefore, as long ago as last September, precisely at the start of the Churbanov trial, I suggested to T. Gdlyan that he speak openly about the legality of the investigation into cases of embezzlements and bribes, and do so in a 'Legal Dialogue' in IZVESTIYA's pages. I for my part provided the program of the dialogue; the first copy is even now with the proposed interlocutors, while I keep the second. The dialogue itself did not take place. But it is necessary, not necessarily with me, but with any unbiased jurist or journalist."

The next day T. Gdlyan telephoned the editorial office and said that he wanted to appear in the newspaper. The editors again consented. There were no further steps by T. Gdlyan.

In May, in a conversation with A. Buturlin, deputy prosecutor of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, published under the heading "Only the Law" (IZVESTIYA No 142), the editors once again invited T. Gdlyan to a discussion. We cite: "Are you prepared, Aleksey Vladimirovich, to meet with Gdlyan in a free discussion of these questions, so to speak?" "Of course I am prepared."

On 22 May the editorial office received the following telegram (sent Saturday, 20 May—Editorial Office note): "To IZVESTIYA chief editor, Moscow. In connection with numerous articles discrediting the investigative group which I lead and myself as a people's deputy, please afford me the opportunity to appear in your newspaper's pages. People's Deputy T.Kh. Gdlyan. 10 Blagoveshchenskiy Lane, Moscow."

On the same day the editors sent a telegram to the said address: "In reply to your telegram of 20 May and following the article of 21 May (Moscow edition of IZVESTIYA—Editorial Office note), we confirm our readiness to afford you an opportunity to appear in our newspaper's pages."

Again there was no response.

We will not comment on the facts cited here. We believe that the reader himself will ask this question: What really lies behind T. Gdlyan's public demands to appear in print and his stubborn reluctance to do so? And, at the same time, answering angry telegrams from readers and excited participants in rallies and meetings who accuse the newspaper of suppressing glasnost, we ask: Are the complaints being sent to the right address?

Commission Member Seeks Further Inquiry

OW2405060489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 May 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] Our correspondent interviewed Yuriy Khamzatovich Kalmykov, doctor of Jurisprudence, USSR people's deputy, and member of the special commission of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. [Video shows Kalmykov in the Saint George Hall of the Kremlin where USSR people's deputies can be seen registering for the upcoming congress; he holds the microphone and speaks into it]

[Kalmykov] The findings of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium commission on materials relating to the activities of Gdlyan and Ivanov have been published in the press. I took part in this commission and want to say that we carried out extensive work. Nevertheless, a kind of negative reaction to the commission's findings has appeared unexpectedly. I would even say it is sharply negative and it surprised me.

Many voters called me. Even entire deputations came before I left for Moscow. People asked: What is going on? Could it be that retribution is being prepared against Gdlyan and Ivanov? Well, I tried to explain things but these explanations are not being accepted.

It is particularly difficult for me because Gdlyan is a graduate of the Saratov Institute of Jurisprudence. We followed his successes in his investigative work, we supported him, we set him up as an example for students, and we supported him in his pre-election campaign. Suddenly we had this information and I had to look into it.

We familiarized ourselves with materials that were presented by the USSR KGB, the USSR Procuracy and the USSR Supreme Court, and we talked to many workers of law enforcement organs and studied officials' materials. In a word, very extensive work was carried out. I consider that the commission, generally, proceeded from a need to somehow review the materials of the case in an objective way, and to review these materials fairly.

Now how can we get out of the situation that has arisen? I think that there is only one way out. It is necessary to establish an independent commission of deputies that will investigate the circumstances of this matter thoroughly and without haste. I think that a commission of this kind will have to work for a very long time. It may have to travel to Uzbekistan, interrogate many witnesses, defendants, and convicted people there, and perform other measures, and sort this matter out.

I think that by arriving at a decision in this way we will avoid another danger: a lengthy discussion at the congress. This discussion will sidetrack the delegates of the congress from very important state matters. Hence, I consider that we cannot ignore public opinion if we want to be at the level of the times, and if we want to live up to the high title of a USSR people's deputy.

Innocent Victim Details Injustices

OW2405054489 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1800 GMT 23 May 89

[From the "120 Minutes" program]

[Text] [Announcer] We now bring you a report from Uzbekistan on violations of the law during the investigation of criminal matters in this republic. Colonel Tadzhikhanov, senior lecturer of the Tashkent USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs] Higher School, was arrested 3 years ago as he was giving a lecture. Our correspondent's report details what followed. [Video cuts to I. Abdukhalikov video report, showing Tadzhikhanov in civilian dress at a children's fair ground riding a miniature train, surrounded by smiling children and adults].

[Abdukhalikov] The charges were frightening: giving bribes, complicity in bribery, illegal possession of firearms. And these charges were made against a man who, for 29 years, worked honestly in the [MVD] organs, exposed a number of major organized crimes, and carried out operations to detain their organizers in a brilliant way. For this he was awarded the Red Star Order and nine medals, and given the title of Merited Worker of the USSR MVD.

One of the bosses of the Tashkent mafia, Nasir Trist, who was well-known in the seventies, put a price of more than R200,000 on his head. The trade mafia managed to have Ubaydulla Tadzhikhanov removed from his duties as deputy chief of the Tashkent City UVD [Internal Affairs Administration]. Yes, criminals tried to remove him, but it turned out that he was arrested by workers of law enforcement organs. [Video cuts to Abdukhalikov and a woman assistant interviewing Tadzhikhanov in an office]

[Begin recording] [Abdukhalikov] Ubaydulla Tadzhikhanovich, particular zeal in your affair was demonstrated by Gaydanov, former deputy procurator of the republic, and even by Usmankhodzhayev, the former first secretary of the Uzbekistan Communist Party Central Committee. But were they the only perpetrators of this illegal act?

[Tadzhikhanov] No, they were not the only ones. The perpetrators of this illegal act were Gdlyan, senior investigator for particularly serious matters under the USSR Procurator General, and Ivanov, his assistant. This is how it was. Between 19 and 23 January 1986, I was summoned to the USSR Procuracy. The investigative branch of the USSR Procuracy was located at 10 Blagoveshchenskiy Lane, and here they talked with me and interrogated me repeatedly for a whole week.

They demanded that I implicate innocent people from the CPSU Central Committee apparatus, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, in that I supposedly gave them enormous bribes. They conditionally offered me R200,000. They set the task: It does not matter who you got it from or who you give it to, just spend it, that is your own affair. But, we shall indicate some people to you and you must implicate them without fail. When I told them that I might not know these people they said: That is of no consequence. Just give the evidence and we will do the rest.

As a result of refusing to implicate innocent people, I suffered cruely. Through the Tashkent City Court, through Ovsyanyuk, the deputy chairman, I was sentenced to 9 years deprivation of freedom. It took me 3 years and 23 days to prove my innocence. During that time I wrote more than 280 complaints and statements. To my great regret, all my complaints were received by either the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic Procuracy or the USSR Procuracy. Some 500 to 600 pages would accumulate and they would then be sent right back to me.

I do not know how they feel today. Maybe they are watching your program. I simply cannot understand the completely unprincipled attitude of USSR Procuracy workers. Gaydanov illegally arrested hundreds and hundreds of people who have all been vindicated. Quite calmly, without any punishment or any proceedings against him, he was transferred to Kazakhstan, where he became the procurator of Tselinograd Oblast. [Video scans an MVD officers uniform jacket hanging behind Tadzhikhanov, dwelling on medals and insignia] He is still working independently. Ovsyanyuk, who has several illegal sentences on his conscience, is still working as deputy chairman of the Tashkent City Court.

There are very many innocent people in our republic who have suffered as like I have. For a period of 10 months, contrary to regulatory requirements, I was held separately from other criminals. They included smugglers, thieves, and gamblers. In the cell too they demanded that I implicate myself and innocent people.

[Abdukhalikov] You are a lawyer, a candidate of sciences. Yet nevertheless it took you 3 years to prove your innocence?

[Tadzhikhanov] Yes, unfortunately I am a lawyer. That is why it took me 3 years and 23 days to prove my innocence. And now I try to imagine how other people who are not lawyers, who were charged or arrested without being guilty, how can they prove their innocence? I saw very, very many such people when I was in a zone in Siberia and I saw them in the Tashkent jail and in Moscow prisons.

All of this was happening because power in our country was concentrated in one hand. The investigation was overseen by the procurator. The arrest warrant was issued by the procurator. The state charges in court were supported by the procurator. The places of confinement were overseen by the procurator. All the power was concentrated in the hands of one man. This is the man who arrests you, and subsequently he wants to prove his great infallability to the end. That is why people who are condemned and arrested without being guilty simply cannot prove their innocence. That is why it took me so long, 3 years and 23 days, to prove my complete innocence. [end recording] [Video cuts to Tadzhikhanov in conversation with people, kissing babies]

[Announcer] The struggle against the mafia and corruption was, is, and will be one of the main tasks of law enforcement organs. But why permit illegal acts, the arrest of wives, children, brothers, sisters, and relatives? Does not this recall the unfortunate saying: When you chop trees splinters fly? Is this really the method to fight crime when we want to establish a state based on law, in which every one of its citizens is defended from tyranny, slander, and lawlessness?

MiG Pilot Charged With Hijacking, Attempted Murder

LD2405132989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1250 GMT 24 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 24 May (TASS)—Military pilot Captain Zuyev, who hijacked a MiG-29 plane to Turkey on 20 May, committed criminally punishable acts, in connection with which he should be handed over to the Soviet authorities, Colonel of Justice Leonid Smertin, assistant chief of the Military Procuracy, said at a briefing here today.

The Military Procuracy of the garrison where Zuyev served has instituted a criminal case against him, the assistant chief of the Military Procuracy stated. Zuyev is charged with violation of the rules of international flights, attempted premeditated murder in aggravating circumstances, theft of firearms, hijacking an aircraft, and desertion.

Corrective Labor Camp Convicts Seize Hostages

Corrections Official on Incidents

LD2305200689 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 23 May 89

[By commentator Gennadiy Vedenyapin]

[Text] In recent weeks very alarming information has appeared in the reports of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs. What we are talking about is the seizure of hostages in colonies and investigative isolation units. Our correspondent Anatoliy Fedorov asked Lieutenant General Ivan Nikiforovich Katargin, head of the Main Administration for Correctional Affairs, to discuss this situation.

[Begin recording] [Katargin] You are right. A series of sinister crimes which present an increased danger for society has taken place: seizures by convicts of hostages from representatives of corrective labor institutions' administrations. It must be stressed that there was not a single case in which the terrorists' demands were met or in which their final goals were achieved. As a result of each of the operations that was conducted, the criminals were rendered harmless. In some cases, when, because of their aggressiveness, it did not seem possible to avert the threat to the victims' lives and health through negotiation, special attack groups used weapons to supress them.

[Fedorov] Ivan Nikiforovich, it is fair to ask you this question: With what is the increase in these especially dangerous crimes connected?

[Katargin] It must be plainly stated that after the amnesty decree was fulfilled, the overwhelming majority of convicts with more positive character left the colonies. As a consequence, the character make-up of criminals serving their sentences became acutely complicated. Suffice it to say that the proportion of people convicted for premeditated murder reached 11.5 percent of the overall composition of convicts.

It evidently has to be submitted in a self-critical manner that the workers in corrective labor institutions did not always respond adequately in their work to the new criminal make-up of convicts, and did not take these factors fully into account when carrying out educational and operational-regime measures. Studies of the circumstances in which hostages were seized also showed that many convicts had wrongly perceived the humanization of our society to mean a total license. The investigation material which we receive shows that criminals who saw and analyzed the television program about Operation Thunder, which told about the foul crime of Yashkiyant's band that took children hostage, arrived at the conclusion that the criminal goals could have been achieved if Yashkiyants had chosen not Israel but another state as the place for the aircraft to land. What can one say about this? The hope that there is even a single country capable of offering refuge to bandits is absolutely unfounded.

At present there are no states in the world where bandit scum can find protection and a friendly welcome. I want to emphasize something else, too. From a legal point of view, these actions acutely worsen the position of the criminals themselves, who have carried out the hostage-taking. They have deprived themselves of the chance to obtain privileges and a less severe status for the sentence they are serving, and of the prospects of a conditional or early conditional release. One last point, our comrades, Ministry of Internal Affairs workers, are still dying from aggressive infringements by criminals in places of deprivation of liberty as they protect the people's interests, legality, and law and order. All in all, in the last 3 years more than 300 people in military service and the administration of corrective labor institutions have suffered attacks. All this calls for a decisive intensification of our workers' legal and technical protection. Corresponding legislative measures are now being worked on. [end recording]

Task Forces Release Hostages

LD2305192189 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 23 May 89

[Announcer-read report captioned "At the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] Recently, in the places of deprivation of freedom at the Internal Affairs Directorates of the Khabarovsk, Donetsk, Semipalatinsk, Aktubinask, Rostov Kray or oblast executive committees, convicts have taken hostages from among officials of the administration of corrective labor institutions.

In none of these cases, did the terrorists achieve their final objectives. When all means of persuasion were exhausted, special task forces had to use weapons to save the lives of the hostages. As a result, many of the terrorists were killed, others were wounded, and the hostages were freed.

When conducting these operations, officials of the corrective labor institutions and military personnel displayed fortitude, self-control, and awareness of their professional duty.

Internal Ministry Reports Statistics on Crime

OW2405020589 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0915 GMT 10 May 88

[From the "The Man and the Law" program]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Olga Dvoretskaya, spokeswoman for the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs Press Center, identified by screen caption] Presently, I would like to change the topic from this specific information to statistics. The matter lies in the fact that in 1988 about 17,000 murders were committed in our country, and about 37,000 heavy bodily injuries were inflicted. This is, of course, a large number. Let us now see if it is really so dangerous for those, who are scared to become victims of a murderer, to come out into the streets.

It has been shown by research that murders motivated by material greed and those committed in burglary attacks represent less that 10 percent of the total number of murders, and the same crimes committed in conjunction with rape attacks are only 2.0 to 1.5 percent. The greatest number, which represent 70 percent of murders, are committed in the course of everyday relations; a fifth of these are motivated by vengeance and jealousy—about 12 to 14 percent, and about the same number is a result of everyday quarrels.

About one half of all murders were committed on weekends and holidays, which obviously relates to the use of alcohol. Drunkenness continues to remain the main cause for crimes in family and day-to-day relations. About 70 percent of those who killed or have inflicted heavy bodily harm were under the influence of alcohol. Also, 63 percent of hooliganism and rape cases were committed by those who were to some degree intoxicated.

Ukrainian Catholic Bishops End Hunger Strike

LD2305204589 Vatican City International Service in Ukrainian 1730 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] The press bureau of the Ukrainian Catholic Church, which is located in Rome, reports that the delegation of the Ukrainian Catholic Church—comprised of Bishops Fylymon Kurchaba, Pavlo Vasylyk, and Sofron Dmyterko, and three priests—which on 16 May began a hunger strike in Moscow in protest at not being received at the Supreme Soviet Presidium, to which they had appealed regularly to legalize the Ukrainian Catholic Church, have now ended their hunger strike. Bishop Pavlo Vasylyk said they at last had an opportunity to meet a repesentative of the Supreme Soviet Presidium, Yuriy Khristoradnov, and although they did not get any kind of positive response, they were able to discuss the fact that Ukrainian Catholics continue to experience persecution. Bishop Vasylyk also explained that they had stopped the hunger strike in order to formulate a new strategy.

It is reported that Mykola Muratov, representative of the Ukrainian Catholic Church in Moscow, has repeatedly received personal threats in order to halt his work for the legalization of the Ukrainian Catholic Church. Mykola Muratov also reported that Ukrainian Catholic priest (Mykola Kuz) was arrested on 2 May after conducting a divine service in Drogobych. Well-known Ukrainian Catholic activist Bogdan Horyn has been fined 200 rubles for his activities on behalf of the Ukrainian Catholic Church.

Latvian People's Front Deputy Interviewed

LD2305030289 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 May 89

[Interview with Andrejs Cirulis, editor of PADOMJU JAUNATNE and Latvian People's Front spokesman, by Sergey Medvedev in Moscow: from the "Vremya" newscast—date not given]

[Excerpts] The registration of USSR people's deputies continues in Moscow today. We switch over to the Great Kremlin Palace. [video shows interior of Georgiyevskiy Hall]

[Correspondent Sergey Medvedev—identified by screen caption] A routine registration day is coming to an end. There are not that many people in the Georgiyevskiy Hall, which is understandable, since the greater part of the USSR people's deputies who have come here to work at the Congress of People's Deputies have already been registered. There is not much time left before the congress, and it is necessary to focus one's thoughts and energies. Serious work lies ahead. We sense that the deputies are nervous, which is understandable. [passage omitted]

I also want to acquaint you with two representatives from two republics, Latvia and Uzbekistan. [video shows a deputy rising from his seat and approaching Medvedev] Hello. Please introduce yourself.

[Cirulis] Andrejs Cirulis, editor of the PADOMJU JAUNATNE newspaper. I am also a spokesman for the Latvian People's Front.

[Medvedev] Clearly you will be representing the interests of the People's Front, right?

[Cirulis] I think that would be putting it very narrowly because the People's Front actually represents the interests of the Latvian people. It is a very large, very strong and serious organization, a very active organization. When we were leaving, a great many people saw us off. Now we are—all the delegation that arrived, the majority—we will, in fact, actually be defending this position.

[Medvedev] Which position? What is the main mandate?

[Cirulis] Well, if one puts it like that, then when people were seeing us off, they told us: Work so that Latvia is free. Well, one must clarify right here what this means. It means that we should be able to resolve the affairs of the republic—both political and economic—in our own republic. So we have come to Moscow to agree those questions which, in fact, affect the interests of all republics, but to insure that internal...[changes thought] that full financial autonomy...[changes thought] and other problems should be resolved at home.

We actually discussed this at the Baltic Assembly, which took place recently. I would like to add to this a very serious thing: I am personally very concerned that many people do not know what is going on in the Baltic region. Many terrible things are being said about us. We are not understood. I even think that if Central Television is willing, then while the delegations of Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia are here in Moscow, we would even be prepared to take part in making a television program in which we could answer all those questions, so that you would not have to travel far.

[Medvedev] Well, I think that such an opportunity will be made available to you. Thank you. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Deputies Depart for Moscow Congress

LD2205095189 Vilnius in English to North America 2200 GMT 20 May 89

[Excerpts] [Announcer] At noon the group of MP's [members of Parliament] (?to this) Parliament had come to the (?park on the hills) to say their goodbye on the eve of their departure to Moscow where they will attend the Congress of the People's Deputies. The meeting started with the national anthem. The first secretary of the Lithuanian Communist Party, Algirdas Brazauskas, started his speech with the following words:

[Begin recording] [Brazauskas in Lithuanian fading to English translation] We have gathered here today, continuing the beautiful tradition of our nation. We have gathered again before the historic trip to Moscow. The delegation of Lithuania is leaving for Moscow to attend the Congress of People's Deputies. This time there are 58 m.p.'s. We are facing a very responsible and complicated work (?there). For 70 years the Soviet power was only declared in this (?big) country. We must understand our historic past, full of tragic and happy years. The August of 1939, when the Soviet and German pact was signed and which condemned the fate of Baltic states. The Molotov-Ribbentrop pact was denounced by Lithuania and it is now the time for Moscow to do the same. Historic justice and new political thinking demand such a step. The future of Baltic states demands this. New thinking requests to unite all Lithuanians the world over, this is the most important goal today. [end recording]

[Announcer] The chairman of the Lithuanian reform movement, Sajudis, Vytautas Landsbergis, was met with the shouts [words indistinct]:

[Begin recording] [Landsbergis in Lithuanian fading to English translation] Vytautas Landsbergis says that beautiful days accompany us. They began when we were passing the Lithuanian border on our way to the Baltic nations' assembly in Tallinn. In Moscow we shall declare that we ourselves will elect our representatives to the Soviet Parliament. We shall be against the laws which run against the interests of our nation. Work will be difficult (?there), but work is the basis of everything, of wealth and decency. [end recording]

[Announcer] [passage omitted] The meeting was ended with the national anthem.

Lithuanian Human Rights Group Visits Moscow

LD2105152189 Vilnius to North America in English 2200 GMT 17 May 89

[Vladas Dobilas commentary from the "Today in Lithuania" program]

[Text] The people's deputies of the USSR will assemble in Moscow for the first congress in a week's time. Some, however, do not think it proper, or are just too impatient to wait until the end of May to see what the status of a people's deputies were in this changing country.

So, recently the people's deputies from Lithuania formed a Human Rights Group consisting of seven people and seeking to observe the realization of human rights in the Soviet Union—rights which are guaranteed by national and international legal norms including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights and the Final Document of the Vienna meeting.

The group intends to constantly inform the public about its activity and the first such piece of information came in the recent issue of the weekly MAZOJI LIETUVA. The newspaper is published in the port city of Klaipeda by the Lithuanian reform movement Sajudis. The article under the heading, "Moscow Still Does Not Believe In Tears," is an account of a group of people's deputies visit to Moscow. The author is an independent journalist Vitas Tomkus, who went to Moscow together with two more deputies, a lawyer and a doctor.

The mission of the deputies was to investigate into human rights situation in Moscow following the unsanctioned meeting held by the Russian Democratic Union late in April. While a similar manifestation held in Vilnius ended without incidents, in Moscow some 70 people were detained and 20 demonstrators had to pay fines of up to R1,000. The fact that the manifestation had been held in memory of the victims in Tbilisi was carefully passed over by the Moscow press.

Faithful to his usual wittily sharp style of writing, journalist Vitas Tomkus notes at first that he had a nice opportunity to get some personal experience in how the status of a people's deputy works. He observes that in terms of priveleges it does work perfectly. On the eve of their flight they got three plane tickets without queuing and in Moscow a huge luxury bus with soft seats and carpets was awaiting just for the three of them. All the other passengers had to squeeze into another bus without carpets, however.

At the Aeroflot office they were politely shown into a waiting hall for people's deputies as spacious as the one down stairs for the use of all the rank and file members. The difference was that the deputies' room had soft furniture, colored television sets and a special buffet with coffee at half the usual price for a cup.

The deputies identity card did not always prove as useful and miracle working, however. True, the three Lithuanian deputies were granted immediately reception by certain officials of the Moscow city executive committee which had forbidden the meeting by the Russian Democratic Union. Even a general of Moscow militia was present at the talks. But when it came down to business the Moscow officials failed to give sound arguments why the manifestation had been banned.

According to the militia general, the national flags of the Baltic republics as well as those of Georgia and the Ukraine were flown at the meeting, which was unacceptable, as it meant consolidation of various forces. Therefore, the officials declared that the manifestation incited discord between nations. Strange logic, notes the author of the article, journalist Vitas Tomkus.

The status of a people's deputy suddenly turned out totally invalid when the three Lithuanian deputies expressed a wish to meet some of the detained demonstrators, on a hunger strike now in militia headquarters. They were told that seeing them was against a law of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Yet, the detainees, allegedly, had no complaint and their state was said to be normal.

Member of the Human Rights Group of Lithuanian Deputies, journalist Vitas Tomkus, writes in his article that the general attitude towards them in Moscow was that of constant evasiveness. At one moment, one member of the group, lawyer Egidijus Bickauskas, was simply told in the telephone talk that though he had been elected by people he only had the right to make order in the particular constituency where he was elected. When the lawyer Bickauskas wondered which were the particular constituencies of those elected from public organizations and whether Mikhail Gorbachev would have the right to make order, there was an uneasy silence in the telephone receiver.

So ended the first visit of the Lithuanian People's Deputies, members of the newly founded Human Rights Group to Moscow.

Before leaving the capital of the Soviet Union they visited the MOSCOW NEWS editorial office and informed the staff about the actions by the local officials directed against the people's deputies from Lithuania.

On returning to Vilnius the Human Rights Group sent an official written enquiry about the matter to the Soviet minister of internal affairs who by law will have to give an answer at the Supreme Soviet session. Of course, only on condition that Soviet Law on the status of a people's deputy does not start skidding once again.

Dormant Stalinism Seen in Lithuania Plenum Work

LD2205142089 Vilnius LITERATURA IR MENAS in Lithuanian No 13, 25 Mar 89 p 12

[Article by Justinas Marcinkevicius: "In the Name of Restructuring"]

[Excerpts] In reading the Farm Workers' Conference publication "ARIMAI" (published by Sajudis), I read over the words written by a pensioner (apparently not personal): "Stalin is dead, but Stalinism is only taking a nap. What will happen when it wakes up?" Today it is already possible to answer this question with words spoken also by pensioners (very personal indeed), and not just with their words but at the Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum. This is what will happen. There will be closures, interruptions, limitations, strict punishments. The only things missing are the words: arrest, imprisonment, and deportation... The odor was quite distinct at this plenum since questions (pehaps it was advice) were significantly raised there about what is being done by individuals charged without security? Who is threatening our security, however, and where does the threat emanate from? Someone inquired threateningly about what people at the Academy of Sciences do? How do they spend their time if they find enough time to participate in elections and Sajudis activities? Someone ignorantly suggested they should be thrown out of the academy at age 60.

It was just as if the 20th and 27th party congresses and the past year's party plenums had not even taken place. It seemed like someone had been reading a 1949 issue of "TIESA" and not a 1989 one. Alas, how little we have advanced along the road to restructuring and how eternal the frost is in some Central Committee members' hearts! I am beginning to think now that an extraordinary Lithuanian Communist Party congress was necessary since the reinforced concrete party unity was just absorbed into their heads and pounded in by Stalin's brief all-union Communist Party course. Stalin teaches unity at any cost: by shooting, deporting and persecuting all those whose thinking is somewhat different. We all are aware how much such unity has cost the party (and the people) and what has become of the party (and the country). We probably don't need this type of unity any more. I have been a party member since 1957. I joined following the 20th CPSU Congress in the hope that the time had finally arrived when you could roll up your sleeves and work fearlessly to contribute your own capabilities to new progressive social and cultural structures, and maybe even be creative. Alas, it did not take long for the enthusiasm to die out.

The party, having formally sworn not to allow the personality cult to repeat itself ever again, continued to create such cults, one after the other, persecuting those who thought differently, regulated creativity and usurped the sovereignty of republics and nationalities, as well as the rights of individuals and citizens. Unfortunately our life here on earth is short. Many of us don't even get an opportunity to unfold our spirit, especially when it is being constrained and repeatedly extinguished by inner drafts. In 1985, along with restructuring, I came to believe in the party, once more. However, this is the last time I will trust in it and I am not alone. Based on this belief I wish to again justify my party consciousness. If restructuring is extinguished and simply degenerates into handy slogans for some, to be remembered on occasion from tribunals, then we will not merit a better and more just life and we will not be able to justify our party consciousness in our own consciences.

We note that the party began restructuring. That same party is opposing restructuring with its mighty bureaucratic element, as no one else opposes it. Don't we see how the 17th Lithuanian Communist Party Central Committee Plenum is a clear example of this? It has served to demonstrate what a difficult battle still faces us in the party and society.

It was beneficial for us to see and become convinced that the fundamental blessings of restructuring, such as, democracy, openness and pluralism would not be served to us on a platter and that it would be necessary to struggle for the good things in a society's existence and their lawful interpretation. And they, like our daily bread, are the rights of everyone and not the sole property of the Sajudis or the party. There exists a basis for democracy and openess, common to all human beings, which all human beings have a right to aspire to. The party as a whole, and each one of us as a separate entity, are committing a crime against the individual, the nation and humanity, by usurping that right. I would evaluate the 17th party plenum paradoxically for its negative value, its self unmasking and for showing us which efforts to stop. In other words, it returns (or is attempting to return) the party and society to the same reality which we have already experienced. Such an existence is convenient for many since it does not require thought or emotional involvement. No one threatens our authority or privileges and no one doubts our competence.

Even cautious attempts to bring up the Lithuanian Communist Party's independence in its election program inspire fear, anxiety and suspicion among some. I am refering to Comrade Gureckas's speech at the plenum. It is difficult for a man of his convictions to accept and work for the idea of republic independence. More needs to be said. As secretary of the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium, Comrade Gureckas, consciously or subconsciously, kept from the deputies the Supreme Soviet session's time limitation [ruling]. We were not even aware of its existence, or the fact that deputies' proposals at a session were either adopted or rejected in accordance with it. That is the reason why at the sadly renown session of November 1988 the proposals by deputies Zalis, Statulevicius, Kupliauskiene and even me, have not been voted on. [passage omitted]

I don't want to substantiate this, but I think it was not done consciously to enable deputies to raise their hands unanimously to make it easier to control them, so that shouts by an obliging few near the microphones, saying there was no need to vote on a proposed Constitutional Amendment (or something similar) would suffice. Thus, we didn't vote. My question is: Why did those who were aware of the time limitation ruling fail to observe it? At a recent Supreme Soviet Presidium meeting held to discuss the Lithuanian State Language Law, Comrade Gureckas roughly berated several of us commission members who had prepared this law and had been invited to the Presidium meeting. He said—to the effect—you are not hosts here, so be quiet. I don't know of any spot in the country where a person could truly be and feel as a host in his own home.

I am not saying Sajudis (or some of its individual members) did no provide reason for criticism at the plenum. Not everything, however, which appears in the press which echoes at meetings or anywhere else belongs just to Sajudis. My colleague writers are seated here and I am aware more than one of them feels concern (or dissatisfaction) with the current state of literary life. I hear criticisms directed at Sajudis from several of them. I must admit that Sajudis has **never** discussed questions on literature, art, music and theater. It has not attempted to evaluate (or re-evaluate) **any** artistic expressions. It has not discussed **any** author's work. This is bad, perhaps, but there is no time for this. As for that which appears in the press which perhaps is contrary to our satisfaction is the concern of authors and editors.

A certain group of people were gripped by terror when Sajudis began using "independence" in place of the word "sovereignty." These words are identical in their significance and meaning. Check the dictionary. There is no reason to break out in a sweat at the sound of this word. Here, I will use as an example, the most beautiful document of all, that of the Lithuanian Communist Party history, its address to the voters, its platform. I quote: "The Lithuanian Communist Party and Central Committee approach the election with a firm resolution to seek real independence for the republic."

I understand, here, one has in mind political, economic, social and cultural independence, a sum total of all. I approve of this and see nothing terrible in this. We need the idea, vision or goal of independence (or sovereignty). A nation dies without this even while living in paradise and we know the Soviet Union is a far cry from paradise. It seems to me that independence is not portrayed in any Sajudis document as a demand for the present, but rather as a vision for the future, a spiritual feeling and a direction to be sought with an awareness of its long and difficult path.

There exist additional curious instances involved with the word "sovereignty." For example, we read in paragraph 71 of the Lithuanian draft Constitution: "The Lithuanian SSR is a sovereign Soviet Socialist Republic within the Soviet Union structure." How can one be sovereign within anyone else's structure? Can a coat button be considered sovereign? If the question is asked in this manner, however, a commotion is unleashed right away. They are recommending withdrawal from the Soviet Union. Would it not be simpler to alter the constitution wording to correspond with dictates of logic and sanity and to leave aside the propaganda embellishments?

I am aware that the situation in the republic is complicated. All sorts of informal movements and organizations are cropping up. They all are vociferous in their search of status. For those of us who are accustomed to the reinforced concrete, monolithic silence and unity, things do appear disquieting at times. Let us not rush to condemn them, however, or more specifically, begin to take measures against them. Things will settle down in time, and perhaps that which inspires terror today will appear useful to society and restructuring tomorrow.

The idea of unity is becoming more realistic. It is only possible, however, in the presence of pluralism. It is quite obvious that without pluralism there will be no reason for unity. Some of the plenum orators are urging unity through the elimination of pluralism. That is the typical Stalinist path toward unity if we consider that which Stalin "founded" as unity. I tolerate the thoughts propounded by the plenum orators for the sake of pluralism as long as they do not cross the boundaries of tolerance, or call for the institution of measures, etc. As far as unity is concerned I regard Lithuania's restructuring and the idea of self-reliance as the foundation of unity.

I read the sadly famous account in the central press on Nina Andreyevna (who a year ago wrote the article "I Cannot Renounce My Principles"). She recently visited the birthplace of Stalin, his museum in Gori and inscribed in the Visitor's Book (I quote from memory): "Forgive us, O great generalissimo of the people, for allowing this day to dawn. We swear to bring back your name and ideas." This appears humorous at first glance. In taking it seriously though the greatest danger in my estimation would threaten not Sajudis, but the restoration of Stalinism within the party and state. Certain things leaning in that direction have alas transpired at the 17th Lithuanian Communist Party Plenum. I have no doubt that a sizeable detachment of excursionists to Gori will also be formed in Lithuania. It is a pity that events attest to the fact that several Central Committee members would serve as tour guides.

'Green' Member Urges Lithuanians To Conserve Water

LD1905154089 Vilnius TIESA in Lithuanian 12 Mar 89 p 2

[Article by Arturas Abromavicius, Central Committee instructor of the Lithuanian Komsomol, and member of the Lithuanian Green Movement Coordinating Council: "Let Us Conserve Water!"]

[Text] We seek economic independence and wish to be in charge of our own affairs. Our ability to do this, however, will depend on our own work efforts and also on how rational we will be in utilizing the republic's natural resources.

Keeping in mind how important this is, Lithuanian Greens, the "Vanduo" Production Enterprise, and the Main Housing Administration of the Ministry of Municipal Services urge all republic residents to participate in the water conservation action, slated for 13-19 Mar.

By comparing the amount of water saved during this period with available water consumption data for a similar period (6-12 Mar), we will be able to determine the amount of drinking water saved by republic residents.

Why is this necessary?

First, it will enable us to evaluate (only approximately) how much longer we are going to be able to exploit existing water sources, beyond that calculated by original projections—i.e. how much longer we will be able to drink subterranean water, rather than the more difficult to purify ground soil water.

We consume 338.5 million cubic meters of water per annum in Lithuania. Residents consume half of this amount. The cost is considerable—R62.8 million. Approximately 300 liters are alloted per person during a 24-hour period, while in some of the capitalist countries an individual manages with 150-180 liters of water per 24-hour period. Water costs 18 kopeks per cubic meter, but residents are charged only 6 kopeks per cubic meter. By comparison: in some major FRG cities, a cubic meter of water costs the equivalent of 80-90 kopeks in our money.

Secondly, in building fewer water reservoirs, we would not only save money, but would also experience a saving in materials, which are scarce.

I will present additional figures, in order to make this easier for our readers to understand. The requirements for supplying Vilnius with one cubic meter of water from the nearby Pagyriai reservoir include: steel—20 kg; cement—80 kg; electricity—1 kilowatt; amounting to an equivalent capital investment of R181. Additional equipment needs to be brought in from abroad.

Our wastefulness is exemplified by the following figures: 15-20 percent of total available water finds its way into the sewers, unused. A leaky faucet can be responsible for a loss of 20 liters of water every 24 hours.

Let us be kind—let's save water. Favorable results of this action will depend on our kinship.

One more thing—actions come and go, but life follows its course. Let us conserve water not simply for a week, a month, or a year, but all the time.

Moldavian Nationalist Convicts Take 4 Hostages

18001083 Moscow TRUD in Russian 19 May 89 p 2

[Report by (S. Mikhaylov Saratov): "Hostages Released"]

[Text] On 17 May at 10 a.m. on the territory of the production zone of the intensive correctional labor colony in the city of Saratov, seven Moldavian convicts armed with sharpened metal bars broke into the central production laboratory.

Here they took four hostages—the chief of the technical section, the chief of the central laboratory, and two women engineers. The criminals, who had been previously convicted of rape, robbery, banditry, murder, and theft, demanded that the administration of the colony transfer them to places of incarceration in Moldavia, and also that people of Moldavian nationality be released from solitary confinement. The negotiations continued until 6 p.m. The colony was blocked off by militia workers. A SWAT team was on duty. But they managed to get along without it, and convinced them to release the hostages. An investigation is being conducted.

Crimean Turks Mark Forced Emigration Anniversary

NC2305123489 Istanbul TERCUMAN in Turkish 18 May 89 p 10

[Excerpts] The solidarity and cultural associations of the Crimean Turks in Turkey held a news conference yesterday to mark the 45th anniversary of the barbaric forced emigration of the Crimean Tartar Turks on 18 May 1945 in accordance with Stalin's orders. The officials of the association screened a videotaped recording of the interview their colleagues, who visited the Soviet Union earlier, held with the fighting leader of the Crimean

Turks, Mustafa Badulcemil Kirimoglu. The officials also called for the broadening of perestroyka and glasnost to include the Crimean Tartars. [passage omitted]

Mustafa Cemil Kirimoglu's Message

In his videotaped message, Mustafa Kirimoglu said the following:

About 40,000 Crimean Tartars live in Crimea now. Twenty thousand Crimean Tartars were able to move to the Crimea from 1987 to 1988. They had great difficulties doing so. The former chauvinists and pro-Stalin elements are doing everything within their power to create difficulties. The Crimean Tartars in the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] are unable to sell their houses. The Uzbek government has taken measures to prevent the Crimean Tartars from selling their houses. Meanwhile, the Russians in Crimea are told the folowing: "Do not sell your houses to the Crimean Tartars. If you do, their population here will increase, and they will torment the Russians and the Ukrainians.

However, as has been the case in the past—that is, in the 1970's—the Crimean Tartars are no longer being told the following: "You are a Crimean Tartar. We are not registering you here."

Instead, various bureaucratic methods are being tried in order not to register the Crimean Tartars. They are putting up bureaucratic obstructions.

The cemeteries were completely destroyed after we were expelled from the Crimea in 1944. They used the tombstones in our cemeteries to build stairways in Russian houses or animal shelters. Muslim Crimean Tartar cemeteries cannot be found anywhere. Only the tombs of a number of our khans have remained behind in the Palace of Khans in Bakhchisaray, which has been converted into a museum. The Crimean Tartars who die in the Crimea are buried in Russian cemtereis now.

Turkish Radio and Television Criticized

The situation of the Crimean Tartar people is serious. A lot has been said about democracy and perestroyka, but this has not applied to the Crimean Tartars. Why are voices which support the Crimean Tartars so few? Yes, we have recently heard about the publication of the magazine known as EMEL. Furthermore, matters related to the Crimean Tartars are being published in Turkish newspapers. But we have been seriously hurt by the failure of the radio [in Turkey] to mention anything about the situation of the Crimean Tartars. The Crimean Tartars receive the Turkish radio broadcasts clearly. But we feel deeply hurt by the fact that ther isno mention of the Crimean Tartars. Had the Turkish radio and television network been able to discuss our situation, this would have strengthened the morale of the Crimean Tartars.

We Expect Support

For 45 years we have been living in exile. There wil be a long struggle before our people are able to return to the Crimea. Of course, we shall continue to struggle as much as we can. We expect our citizens in Turkey, including our brothers in Islam in that country, to support us.

We set up the "Crimean Tartar National Movement Organization" on 2 May 1989. The rules and regulations of that organization include the following provision: The Crimean Tartar people can appeal to Muslim countries in their quest to have their problem resolved.

Our people have supported this provision. Therefore, we shall appeal to the Muslim countries.

Protest Against Bulgaria

The representatives of all the Crimean Tartars in the Soviet Union met from 29 April to 2 May 1989. The meeting took place in the Uzbek SSR. As the Crimean Tartar National Movement Organization, the representatives adopted various decisions at this meeting. A protest letter was addressed to Todor Zhivkov. The oppression of our brothers in religion in Bulgaria—that is, the oppression of the Turks, the oppression of the Crimean Turks, and the effort made to force Turks to become Bulgarian—were protested.

A protest was also made against the incidents in Georgia on 9 April, and an appeal has been made to the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, which will convene in Paris on 30 May.

To tell the truth, we do not trust the meeting the CPSU will hold this summer on the question of nationalities. According to what the Soviet newspapers have published in connection with this meeting, the question of the Crimean Tartars will only be examined from the point of view of increasing the number of newspapers published in areas where the Crimean Tartars live in exile, increasing the number of books that are published in these areas, and developing the culture of the Crimean Tartars in exile.

However, we wish to return to our homeland. We wish to establish our national republic in the Crimea and to revive our national culture. That is why we do not trust that meeting. The struggle of the Crimean Tartars will continue.

NKAO Reaction to CPSU Commission Conclusions

LD2205120989 Moscow TASS in Russian 1020 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Stepanakert, 22 May (TASS)—The conclusions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo commission on issues of interethnic relations, which discussed the situation in Nagorno-Karabakh, brought a broad public response in the autonomous oblast. Sensibly-minded supporters of the Karabakh movement, like the majority of the Azerbaijani population, share the thought expressed by the commission that the way out of the complex situation that has come about can be found only through mutual understanding and sensible compromises. They support the expediency of expanding the powers of the special government committee with the aim of more effectively solving the tasks of socioeconomic development.

However, both stress that the special form of government in the Nagorno-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast [NKAO] is a temporary measure. The Armenian side continues to insist on the reunification of Nagorno-Karabakh with Armenia, while the Azerbaijani side categorically rejects any proposal for possible administrative-territorial changes. In these conditions, the population of the NKAO pins great hopes on the forthcoming Congress of USSR People's Deputies, and expects it to come up with well-considered constructive solutions in the sphere of interethnic policy.

Negotiation and dialogue between the Nagorno-Karabakh Special Administration Committee, party activists and the people have made it possible to ease tension in the autonomous region of Azerbaijan.

Committee Chairman Arkadiy Volskiy had a successful meeting with the Armenian and Azerbaijani elders of the Kirkidzhan settlement, during which everybody agreed on the need to avoid ethnic clashes. The sides expressed their readiness to meet each other halfway. As a result, accord was reached on halting disputed industrial construction and on continuing the construction of social projects in Kirkidzhan. On 21 May, thanks to timely propaganda measures, it proved possible to prevent a gathering of townspeople for an unsanctioned meeting in Stepanakert.

But the situation in the region remains complicated. A strike is continuing at factories, construction sites and a number of organizations in Stepanakert and other towns. The problem of refugees is extremely acute as most of them are still without a home and a job. Urban authorities' attempts to resume housing construction have so far failed.

It is disquieting that children are being drawn into the actions of a "civil disobedience campaign" proclaimed by some leaders of the Karabakh Movement. Groups of junior school-children carrying national flags and chanting slogans for reunification with Armenia have appeared on Stepanakert streets several times. This tends to worsen the moral atmosphere in the region and heighten tension.

Other actions nudging Armenians and Azerbaijanis to confrontation are not conducive to restoring calm in Nagorno-Karabakh either.

A Shushinskiy rayon newspaper, for example, published an address on behalf of the Azerbaijani part of the region's population to the peoples of the USSR to Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev.

The authors of the appeal spoke of an alleged "Armeniazation" of Nagorno-Karabakh. They declared their readiness to protect "the national-territorial integrity of their sovereign republic" with arms in hands and effectively equated the Karabakh Movement with adversaries of the Soviet system of government.

For its part, a session of the Executive Committee of the Stepanakert City Council, addressing the forthcoming USSR Congress of People's Deputies, urgently posed the questions of Nagorno-Karabakh being reunited with Armenia, of the conduct of a referendum in the region to determine its status, that special administrative rule in its present form be abandoned, that the party and government bodies ordinarily managing the region be reinstated in their functions and powers and that last year's events in Sumgait be given a political assessment.

The session also urged the USSR procurator general to protest against the illegitimate decision of 5 June 1921, by the Caucasian Bureau of the Central Committee of the Russian Communist Party (Bolsheviks) on the status of Nagorno-Karabakh.

Speaking on Armenian television recently, Special Administration Committee member Valeriy Sidorov stressed that it is possible to solve problems accumulated in Nagorno-Karabakh only through broad-based dialogue and respect for each other.

The measures which the comittee has taken to develop the real autonomy of the region and to restore the normal rhythm of life should meet with the understanding and support of the Karabakh people and of all sincere champions of restructuring, both Armenians and Azerbaijanis.

Armenian Central Committee Bureau Meets

NC2105083089 Yerevan Domestic Service in Armenian 0425 GMT 21 May 89

[From the review of KHORHRDAYIN HAYASTAN]

[Text] The paper on its front page published a report about the latest regular meeting of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau. The report states in particular that the meeting discussed the situation prevailing in the General Department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee as regards the practical work being carried out by the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee on bureaucratic paperwork.

The Armenian Communist Party Central Committee Bureau proposed additional measures for restructuring the party management, bringing about party [word indistinct], perfecting the practical work as regards paperwork, improving the quality of the paperwork, and halting all unnecessary paperwork.

Other topical issues in the life of the republic were also discussed.

ARMENPRES Profiles Recent Armenian Appointees

New Justice Minister

NC2005111689 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Yerevan, 15 May (ARMENPRES)—By a decree of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, Armen Gareginovich Ashrafyan has been appointed justice minister of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR].

Armen Gareginovich Ashrafyan was born in 1946 in the Lernabad village of Gugark [ancient Armenian name for the present Kirovakanskiy Rayon]. He is an Armenian and has been a member of the CPSU since 1970. He graduated from Yerevan State University's law faculty.

Between 1965 and 1976 he was technician, senior technician, and engineer at the Yerevan branch of the all-union research institute of machine building for light and textile industry. In 1976 he was elected people's judge from Yerevan City's Leninyan District, and in 1982 he was elected chairman of the Yerevan City Soviet Rayon people's court.

Since 1985 he has been a member of the Armenian SSR Supreme Court. He is a member of the presidium of the republic's supreme court and the secretary of the party organization.

New Health Minister

NC2005120489 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 18 May 89

[Text] Yerevan, 18 May (ARMENPRES)—By decree of the Presidium of the Armenian Supreme Soviet, Ardashes Vartanovich Aznavuryan has been appointed Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic health minister, replacing Emil Samsonovich Gabriyelyan in that post.

Ardashes Vartanovich Aznavuryan was born in 1938 in Batumi and is an Armenian. He has been a member of the CPSU since 1968. He graduated from Yerevan Medical Institute and is a doctor and a professor of medical sciences.

Between 1964 and 1973 he worked as junior and then senior pathological-anatomy researcher at Yerevan's medical institute. During 1967-1970 he was Komsomol [Leninist Communist Youth League] secretary and during 1973-1975 secretary of the party committee at the medical institute. Between 1975 and 1977 he supervised educational affairs at Yerevan Medical Institute. At the same time from 1965 to 1989 he also worked at the child infection treatment clinics in the republican hospitals and at the autopsy department. Since 1977 he has been the dean of Yerevan Medical Institute.

A.V. Aznavuryan is the author of 140 scientific treatises.

New State Committee Chairman

NC2005130489 Yerevan ARMENPRES International Service in Armenian 1215 GMT 15 May 89

[Text] Yerevan, 15 May (ARMENPRES)—By decree of the Presidium of the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet, Gurgen Ardashesovich Ghazakhetsyan has been appointed chairman of the State Committee for Services to the Population of Soviet Armenia [title as received].

Gurgen Ardashesovich Ghazakhetsyan was born in 1945 in Yerevan. He is an Armenian and has been a member of the (?CPSU) since 1970. He is a graduate of Moscow's cooperative institute and the highest school of the CPSU Central Committee.

During 1965-1973 he worked as master at the No 1 construction department of the "Kughshin" [Armenian for constructions in rural areas] trust attached to the Armenian SSR Rural Construction Ministry, as technical-engineer in the housing department of the Leninyan Rayispolkom [rayon soviet executive committee] in Yerevan City, as engineer at the Armenian SSR Industrial Construction Ministry, and as senior engineer at the "Haykughbedshinnakhakits" [Armenian State Planning Organization for Rural Construction] which is attached to the Armenian SSR Agriculture Ministry. Between 1973 and 1977 he was the instructor of the Armenian All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League [Komsomol] organizations and first secretary of the Orchonigitse Raykom [rayon party committee] Armenian Komsomol.

From 1977 to 1985 Ghazakhetsyan was the instructor of the planning and finance organs of the trade department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee. Since 1985 he has been working as deputy director for the trade and consumer services department of the Armenian Communist Party Central Committee.

Ligachev Tours Farms in Uzbekistan 10 May

PM1905122189 Tashkent PRAVDA VOSTOKA in Russian 11 May 89 p 1

[UZTAG report: "Visit to Uzbekistan"]

[Text] Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, arrived in Tashkent 9 May. He is to take part in a conference devoted to the quest for ways to implement the CPSU

Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions, to fulfill the Food Program, and to establish direct long-term ties between farms in the Central Asia region and enterprises in the Urals and Siberia.

Ye.K. Ligachev was met at the airport by R.N. Nishanov, V.P. Anishchev, D.D. Berkov, P.V. Dogonkin, G.Kh. Kadyrov, Sh.Z. Komalkhodzhayev, M.M. Mirkasymov, V.I. Ogarok, Kh. Alimova, I.Kh. Dzhurabekov, A.S. Yefimov, and B.F. Satin, members and candidate members of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Bureau; M.I. Ibragimov, chairman of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium; I.V. Fuzhenko, commander of the Red-Banner Turkestan Military District; and A.S. Morgasov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR KGB.

On 10 May Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, saw for himself the life of working people in Surkhandarya Oblast.

The questions on which his conversations with crop farmers, workers, and specialists focused concerned the progress of restructuring, the implementation of the party decisions on accelerating the development of the agro-industrial complex, the fulfillment of the Food Program, the improvement of rural working people's working and living conditions, and the measures being taken to overcome the consequences of adverse weather conditions.

The businesslike nature of the meetings was set on the very first visit—to Termezskiy Rayon's "40th Anniversary of October" Collective Farm. The secretary of the CPSU Central Committee called on V. Gromnitskiy's vegetable growing team. This collective has 34 links working on the family contract method. The conversation with team members touched on problems of the further development of new forms of labor organization and the transition to lease contracts. The vegetable growers spoke about the initial results of their work in the new fashion.

Questions of fruit and vegetable supplies for the population of the country's industrial centers were raised during a visit to Khayrabad Railroad Station, from where orchard and truck garden produce is shipped.

Ye.K. Ligachev toured new orchards on the "Surkhan" Experimental State Farm. During his conversation with the fruit growers, he noted the great importance of work aimed at improving supplies of vitamin-rich produce for the population.

On the same day Ye.K. Ligachev had a meeting with the Surkhandarya Oblast party and economic aktiv. It dealt with questions concerning the fulfillment of the CPSU Central Committee March (1989) Plenum decisions and the development of all agro-industrial complex sectors.

During his tour of Surkhandarya Oblast, Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, was accompanied by R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and G.Kh. Kadyrov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers.

Uzbek Party Central Committee Holds Plenum

Nishanov Presents Report

LD1905163189 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1400 GMT 19 May 89

[Text] The tasks of party organizations in Uzbekistan connected with implementing the directives of this year's CPSU Central Committee April Plenum were considered today at a plenum of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee. A report was presented by Comrade Nishanov. He dealt particularly with the solution of social questions and spoke about the fundamentally new concept of the republic's social and economic development up to 1995. The plenum granted the application of a number of members of republican elective party bodies, who had retired and left Uzbekistan, to be relieved of their duties.

Socioeconomic Problems Discussed

PM2305102589 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Correspondent A. Kaipbergenov report: "Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee Plenum"]

[Text] Tashkent, 19 May—An Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee plenum was held today. Its participants discussed the republic party organizations' tasks in realizing the CPSU Central Committee April (1989) Plenum guidelines. R.N. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, delivered the report.

The main speaker and those who spoke in the debate spoke of unresolved problems in the republic's socioeconomic development and made specific proposals for improving the state of affairs. The plenum obliged all party organizations to mobilize working people's efforts to resolve the current tasks and to improve organizational and political work. It was pointed out that it is necessary in the very near future to take exhaustive measures relating to instances of mismanagement and violations of discipline and to subject to broad glasnost the responsibility borne by guilty persons and what has been done to instill order.

The plenum approved a reserve of cadres for promotion to republic-level party and soviet work.

Uzbek First Secretary Defends Bilingualism

PM2305120789

[Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA in Russian on 21 May in its Second Edition publishes on page 3 under the headline "Khamza's Lessons: On the Centenary of the Revolutionary Poet's Birth" a 1,200-word article by R. Nishanov, first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, pegged to the centenary of Uzbek poet Khamza Khakim-zade Niyazi.

Nishanov examines Khamza's life, poetic work, and revolutionary activity, and goes on to conclude his article:

"...The Rashidov era inflicted considerable damage on international education in Uzbekistan. Real work on the improvement of interethnic relations and the satisfaction of national cultural needs was supplanted by eulogies and ostentatious, parade-ground measures.

"Now we are switching the work on international education along the tracks of specific deeds, and we are solving on a realistic basis the problems associated with fundamental improvement of the study of the native language and of the Russian language, which is of paramount importance for people's interethnic contacts. It is impossible not to turn to Khamza's practice here! He did an extraordinary amount of work for school education in the native language and the development of the national culture. At the same time he actively propagandized Russian which, as he wrote, 'is necessary for our prosperity....'

"Now one can hear it said at times that bilingualism leads...to the Uzbek language's death. A downright lie! Khamza foresaw that his people's native language and national culture would actually flourish under conditions of bilingualism.

"Those who try, by speculating on national feelings, to raise doubts about the foundations of internationalism and to proclaim the classic's ideas 'obsolete' are hopelessly inferior when compared against Khamza's substantiated reasoning and intelligence, never mind the degree of talent. It is impossible to live avoiding the lessons of truth. The enhanced interest in the people's history, cultural heritage, and traditions, generated by society's renewal, must not be turned into national arrogance.

"Concentrating on the solution of its economic and social problems (and Uzbekistan has quite a few of them—negative phenomena have become dangerously widespread), the republic's party organization and working people are seriously relying on all detachments of the creative intelligentsia. Let us be frank: Its members do not share an identical perception of the goals and methods of restructuring. But the cultural figures are making an increasingly tangible contribution to society's renewal. Positive changes in the republic have every opportunity to gather pace, and restructuring to become reliable and fruitful. For the sake of all this it is necessary to mobilize not only the material but also the entire spiritual potential and all intellectual forces—to raise the overall level of artistic and civic service to society. A wonderful example of this is been set for us by the revolutionary poet Khamza."

Specialists Investigate Uzbek Paratyphoid Cases

LD2005220189 Moscow TASS in English 2106 GMT 20 May 89

[Quotation marks as received]

[Text] Turakurgan, Uzbekistan, May 21 TASS—By TASS correspondent:

Two persons died, and a half of 147 people have been diagnosed as suffering from paratyphoid. Thirty per cent of them are in a serious condition. The cause is a food poisoning after the people ate fried fish at the local bazaar.

The report is commented upon by Sh. Shavakhabov, chief state sanitary physician of the republic, deputy minister of health of the Uzbek SSR:

"People began to arrive at the district hospital a month ago on suspicion of suffering from paratyphoid. Their number sharply increased after May 3. A 12-member team of specialists urgently left Tashkent and Samarkand by air to find out the causes of the mass incidence of the disease.

"The patients associated the development of the disease with a visit to the market located on the territory of the collective farm of Uzbekistan. The suspicion was confirmed by biochemical analyses: B-type paratyphoid agents were detected in the patients' blood.

"Neglect and insanitary conditions at the market, the lack of elementary conditions for trade, and the negligent attitude to this lack of order by the market management as well as by local government bodies were among the main causes of the outbreak of the disease.

"The District Executive Committee and the Shakhand Rural Council practiced the issue of permissions for free sale of various dishes to untrustworthy people without getting agreement from the district sanitary and epidemiological station which, in its turn, was not at its best in this respect either".

Malfeasance by Militia in Moscow Exposed

18300596 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
13 May 89 Second Edition p 6

[Article by A. Chernenko: "Ambition"]

[Excerpts] *It must be admitted it sometimes happens that inadequately checked information ends up on the pages of the press. And the people's courts are more and more frequently having occasion to examine citizens' suits against newspaper editors. These are the real fruits of democratization. There are no questions regarding this. The question is different: What percentage of these cases are won? That is, to what extent are they justified? For today all you have to do is pay the stamp duty of 30 kopecks and the judicial machine (a very costly one) goes into operation....*

And here in the people's court of Sverdlovskiy Rayon of Moscow a civil case about honor and dignity is being heard. The plaintiff against the PRAVDA editors is a militia major, a senior station official of the 159th division of the Moscow militia, V. Chayka.

Naturally, the reader will ask who offended this guardian of the peace, and how? And why on the bench of the accused is there not only a representative of PRAVDA, but also two leading prosecutors of the USSR Prosecutor's Office? And what caused the conflict between representatives of legal protection agencies who solve the same problems in the fight against crime?

Let us recall the content of the article in PRAVDA of 20 October 1988 entitled "A Curved Mirror," and let us add to it facts that remained outside the picture. It was about the coverup of a number of crimes by law enforcement services. The sources of the article date back to October of 1986, when the prosecutor of the administration for supervision of the investigation and inquiry in internal affairs agencies of the USSR Prosecutor's Office, Senior Justice Adviser M. Burmastrov, conducted a check on the observance of the law in the 41st militia division in the city of Moscow where V. Chayka was working as chief.

Once he crossed the threshold of the division the representative of the USSR Prosecutor's Office found blatant barbarity against people who had been arrested. Two of them had been handcuffed for almost 2 days.

Yes, the criminal must answer before the law for what he has done, but no law gives one the right to degrade people. The use of handcuffs is allowed only in extreme cases, but for a limited amount of time, and the appropriate document must be filled out. (In order to conceal this arbitrary behavior, the person on duty in the station hurried to draw up a fictional protocol with distorted facts). Further information about the activity of the militia division showed that they bend the law frequently here. [passage omitted]

Here is an episode. The good mood of citizen S., who was preparing to go to his dacha, disappeared in a moment when he discovered that his car was missing. Naturally, he went to the 41st militia division. After a certain amount of time the car was discovered on the territory of Moscow Oblast. The criminals who temporarily borrowed the car took the owner's personal belongings as a memento of their ride, costing him 200 rubles. The senior criminal investigator, convinced that it was too much trouble to look for the criminals, solved the problem of closing the file on the crime by simpler means. The persistent "professional" persuaded S. to write out a declaration stating that someone he knew had taken the car for a ride and that he had no complaints against anybody. Then the decree about the refusal to initiate a criminal case because of the absence of a crime was published.

It is an alarming thing to persuade citizens to write false declarations, and it is also risky. Therefore someone in the division came to this conclusion: Would it not be better not to register crimes at all? They started a separate journal, hidden from the eyes of inspectors, where they entered alarm signals for each case. This is what ended up in the hands of the inspector—this "explosive document" which was a compass for revealing other cases of keeping crimes out of the reports.

During the entire course of the inspection about 30 (!) cases were revealed in which militia workers kept crimes out of the reports, thus improving the indicators of their work. Dense clouds descended over the head of the militia division chief. A worker of the Krasnogvardeyskiy ispolkom [executive committee] tried to disperse them, but Prosecutor Burmistrov turned out to be an intransigent person. Then they brought in the heavy artillery. Bells started ringing from various levels (right up to the holy of holies—the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet). Having overcome the pressure from all sides, M. Burmistrov on 13 November 1986 entered a decree to resume the criminal case in view of facts of failure to include crimes in reports in the 41st militia division of Moscow. [passage omitted]

The investigation became prolonged. But the result was still the same: The parties guilty of covering up crimes were discharged from the militia. And the chief who had discredited himself was fired. This was related in abridged form to the general reader by Prosecutor M. Burmistrov and his colleague S. Zamoshkin in PRAVDA in the article entitled "The Curved Mirror," in which the "abscess" of percentomania was revealed.

After a certain amount of time PRAVDA readers learned the response to the article from Yu. Zhurkin, USSR deputy minister of internal affairs, who simply stated that the cases of violation of the law cited in the article did occur and measures had been taken against the guilty parties (including Chayka)—they were discharged from the positions they held and are being used in lower positions.

This, we repeat, was the official response. But here begins a new turn of events. Another deputy minister, even before the publication of the article, considered it expedient to reinstate Chayka in...his previous position.

"Again, and for the nth time," said M. Burmistrov, "I came up against 'telephone law.' It inevitably appears when the discussion comes around to high 'ranks.' On what was this decision based? Who spoke out for the former chief? Comrades from the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet were looking out for him, particularly one of the consultants from the legal division. It was here (let us emphasize—not in the Ministry of Internal Affairs [MVD], not in the court, and not in the prosecutor's office!) that they drew up the document which made it clear that Chayka had simply been persecuted and that an innocent person had suffered. As though nothing revealed by the USSR Prosecutor's Office had ever taken place. As though there had never been an order from the chief of the Krasnogvardeyskiy Rayon Internal Affairs Division of 19 November 1985, in which Chayka was warned against "...keeping crimes out of the reports." For some reason the Presidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet, in spite of reality, came to the conclusion that in the 41st militia division only two crimes had been kept out of the reports, and not about 30 of them. One can only guess about how such a document could have been originated, just as one must guess at how a copy of it ended up in Chayka's hands.

Armed with this support from the highest level, the disgraced chief filed a suit against the editors and the authors of the article, demanding a public exoneration. Members of the court studied the case scrupulously, going into every detail. As a result the court came to a simple decision to reject the demands of the case.

The Moscow city court upheld this decision without any changes. [passage omitted]

It would seem that this would be the end. But there is one question that requires an answer. It is very good that the role of the judicial agencies is increasing. It can be no other way in a rule-of-law state. A person should know that he will always find protection in court. But why do we so rarely sue citizens who out of personal ambition involve a mass of people in their malicious litigation? For the mechanism of influence will never work on a plaintiff who is known to be unscrupulous. The reality is such that today a person who is known to be litigious practically "free of charge" forces the flywheel of the judicial mechanism into operation, bearing no material responsibility for his false claims.

Readers Use 'Common Sense' To Assess Cooperatives

18300591 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian
9 May 89 Second Edition p 3

[Article by Ye. Sorokin: "The Wave and the Foam"]

[Text] The Riga Market in Moscow just a short while ago was perhaps one of the busiest places, as the entire country knows. Much used by the members of cooperatives, it attracted people by the abundance and great variety of goods in short supply manufactured in our country and abroad.

Oleg Korneychuk, a student at Altay State University, wanted to buy a jacket made of parachute material. He hunted down what he wanted in the commotion of the market, and rejoiced over his successful purchase. At home he found that the jacket was defective. There was a stain of some kind on the pocket and the lining was barely sewn onto the jacket. He spent 2 days tinkering with the lining, and then tried to remove the stain with gasoline, but the fabric disintegrated. In his anger, he cut out this piece, and sent the patch to PRAVDA together with a letter. Expressing his satisfaction with the fact that "free" sales in this market have already been banned, he writes:

"Personally, I could not care less about the high, 'bourgeois' earnings of cooperative members. However, they have got to have some shame: making us pay through the nose for the worthless merchandise! Try to find out now which cooperative produced the jacket, and who I should make a claim against!"

They say that the student community is the most progressive one. It is we, people who have survived both "the thaw" and stagnation, who sometimes think in a backward manner. Therefore, if some new endeavor causes their dissatisfaction, something has got to be wrong with it. Let us try to puzzle out the contradictions of the present-day cooperative movement with the help of our readers.

There are many contradictions, and all of them can hardly be brought up in a single publication. However, as they say, the main thing is found at the surface: the discrepancy between what we would like cooperatives to be and what they are today. This was the topic of the item "Cooperation or Speculation?" published on 3 March. Responses have now come in.

A. Lebedev from Kalinin writes: "Lots of parasitic cooperatives have appeared. We also have one; it is called 'Opportunity,' and is involved in switching apartments. Ostensibly, the purpose is noble. However, the first contribution of anyone who seeks help there comes to 76 rubles. My daughter and I decided to switch, and it turns out that we have to pay 152 rubles. Those who are swapping their apartments with us also have to pay 76 rubles each. If you will, this is highway robbery!" "Do cooperative members have a conscience?" asks Leningrad retiree I. Abrashenkov. "Do their products indeed cost 3 to 5 times more than the state ones?" "Protect us from cooperative members!" demands retiree G. Chebunin from Kabardino-Balkariya.

There are thousands of similar letters in the PRAVDA mailbag. Our salaries turn out to be no match for cooperative prices.

Now that certain resolutions regulating cooperative operations have been adopted, there is much discussion of whether this or that provision of the documents passed is legal. The press is also writing about it. Practice will show how well-conceived they are, and what their effect on society is going to be. Restructuring has taught us not to approve everything happening in our country automatically and thoughtlessly. Open criticism of both the cooperatives and the "offensive" against them is also the result of plurality of opinions.

As I see it, the cooperative wave has done everything possible in order for the foam it has produced to drown out a lot of what could have put down strong roots. This has happened also due to the imperfection of the Law "On Cooperatives in the USSR." Essentially, it was more legal than economic in nature, because it apparently did not take into account the commonly known formula "goods-money-goods" under our conditions.

The readers of PRAVDA, who often have little familiarity with political economy, have figured it out through common sense. I. Zarembo from Minsk writes: "As a rule, cooperatives do not produce, but rather purchase already manufactured merchandise. What kind of help is that for the state? Let them breed calves, grow potatoes and greens, and then sell their products even at 100 times the price. Otherwise, prices keep growing and store shelves continue to be empty." This is also mentioned in the letters of T. Chalykh from Kaliningrad in the vicinity of Moscow, N. Moretskiy from Chelyabinsk, N. Kozlov from Razdolnyy State Farm in Chita Oblast, Yu. Chumakov from Sevastopol, N. Gurevich from Chernigov, B. Bazarnikov from the city of Pushkin in Moscow Oblast, and many others.

In essence, the loophole in the law which makes it possible to obtain income without burdening oneself with work has given rise to legalized speculation. Here is a paradox. The resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers which outlaws the basically harmless video cooperatives has "failed to notice" outright criminality. This is nonsense: A cooperative cannot be penalized if, having bought a ton of sausage at 3 rubles a kilo, it sells the sausage at 6 rubles an hour later. The absence of a "producing" element in the law on cooperation allows them to do it with complete impunity.

However, the state economy itself allows enterprising individuals to capitalize handsomely on poor management. Cooperative members at times manage to extract millions from wastes and rejected raw materials, all of that in keeping with the law, just by skillfully using market trends to their advantage. Many officials are outraged by this, and they attempt to put a wrench in the works of cooperatives. In the process, they do not move a finger to follow the example of cooperatives, so that the resources won't be wasted and cooperative prices will come down.

At present, the cooperatives are so multifaceted and varied, and the sources of their income so unpredictable, that tracking them is, simply put, impossible. However, should they be tracked? After all, the Law on Cooperatives says unambiguously: Cooperatives exist on an equal footing with state enterprises; the two economic sectors are endowed with equal rights. However, what kind of equal rights are these, if, say, the Ministry of Light Industry has to manufacture the fabric before it produces the pants?

M. Mashkovtsev from Petropavlovsk-Kamchatskiy writes: "I am surprised at how our state dropped the ball when creating the Law on Cooperatives. You do not have to be a genius to understand that if you want to make pants, you must grow the cotton, produce the fabric, design or buy a pattern, and sew it. Then this will be a genuine 'parallel economy.' However, I believe that prices have still got to be unified. If you want to have greater profits, you should not have excessive staff, you should increase labor productivity, and so forth. What happens in our case? I do computer repair and servicing. Enterprises pay my 'company' 1,500 rubles a month for this, of which I receive 550 rubles as salary. Two cooperatives competing with us do the same work, and also at state rates. However, they pay their employees 900 rubles. This is quite simple: Our 'company' is forced to transfer to the state budget 20.6 percent of its income, and cooperatives—5 to 6 times less. What kind of equal rights is that?"

It is hard to disagree with the author of this letter. Imperfections in the economic relations of the cooperatives and the state are now more and more apparent. Naturally, the cooperatives needed preferences at first in order to let them spread their wings. As I. Shestakov from Vladimir Oblast justly believes, "however, cooperative members are citizens of our country all the same. Are they not interested in our social achievements—free education, health care, low rents, and so forth? Are they not responsible for the defense capability of the country? Why then should their contributions to the state budget be lower than those of state enterprises?"

Once again, it was resolved, due to the failure of interests to "dovetail," that cooperatives may sell their products at considerably higher prices than state enterprises. At the same time, contributions to the state budget were reduced. This is the best example of how the understandable can be made incomprehensible. After all, not only millions, but billions could be made off the "discrepancies" which could easily be created artificially. However, this will not ensure an increase in the amount of output and merchandise.

"I think that cooperatives took the wrong road right away," L. Tsenova from Kiev believes. "Not the road of 'parallel economy,' but the road of parasitism on the enormous and poorly manageable belly of the state. Trying to justify it now by the desire to 'lure' people into cooperatives is no good. We had to make the money-and-goods relations of the cooperatives and state enterprises similar from the very beginning, giving the cooperatives a completely free hand. This would have made them look for reserves inside their collectives, rather than turn the market trends to their advantage. Look at agricultural lessees. The self-cost of their products is 3 to 4 times lower than at collective and state farms. It is very simple: They keep no unnecessary officials, do not buy the monsters manufactured by the Kirov [tractor] Plant, and watch over every kilowhatt-hour of energy."

Perhaps, Lyudmila Vladimirovna Tsenova spent a lot of time working on her letter. Much of it is justified, balanced, and well-argued. However, at the end is the question also present in many other letters: How does it happen in our country that as soon as a passive employee of a state enterprise goes to a cooperative, he turns into an entrepreneur in the best meaning of this word?

An answer may possibly be found in a letter from construction designer M. Mager with the "Ukrzhilremproekt" [Ukrainian Institute of Designs for Housing Repairs]. He makes a suggestion, mentioning that he secured the consent of his fellow employees before writing to PRAVDA. The essence of the suggestion is to allow construction cooperatives to retain part of the housing built above the plan. There is nothing new about this plan: As long as 2 years ago, the collective of the Vladivostok DSK [Housing Construction Combine] began to operate on such a principle. M. Mager writes: "Our organization could produce additional drafts of comprehensive major repairs of residential buildings, but there is no particular incentive for doing so."

It turns out that this is exactly the heart of the matter: There is no incentive; there is in Vladivostok, but not in Kiev. Who is getting in the way? One's own routine is. We often look at cooperative members as a miracle, with jealousy. However, in any production cooperative, whether it makes jackets, bricks, or door frames, everyone feels a master first of all. Try grilling any cooperative member about the source of profits for his cooperative—in no way will he tell you anything; this is a "commercial secret!" Just give three rubles to some workers at a state enterprise and they will smuggle out through a crack in the wall not only a wheel for a Zhiguli, but the general director's armchair. In other words, the principle "plants to the workers" is so far not operating in the state sector. On the other hand, it has become the vital attitude of many cooperative members.

They have managed to do in a year what could not be inculcated in people over 70 years. In that sense, cooperatives have shown the tremendous potential contained in our economy.

However, not all of it is smooth sailing. At present, some cooperative members, having gotten a gulp of freedom, are beginning to feel the weight of it. M. Suchkov from Voronezh reports: "Our cooperative 'Prestige' is prepared to produce furniture for the populace at prices no greater than state retail, provided, however, that we regularly receive raw materials (even rejects) at wholesale prices just as the state enterprises do, and will pay what they do for for other materials, equipment, and space. I believe that in this case the cooperative foam of speculation will disappear, as will the bureaucratic racket from which we are beginning to feel steadily increasing pressure lately." The chairman of the "Mediator" cooperative from Donetsk, M. Pakter, cooperative members V. Ge from Tadjikistan, V. Litvinov from the village of Krutiki in Altay Kray, S. Sotnikov from Orel, S. Katalinas from the city of Onega in Arkhangelsk Oblast, and many others arrive at the same conclusion. It is difficult to raise any objections to it. Indeed, can we demand that cooperatives sell at state prices if the state itself sells everything to them at considerably higher prices?

The essence of all letters may be expressed in brief: Cooperatives should amount to a "parallel economy." They should enjoy all the rights of the state sector, but also bear no less responsibility. This means making their own product rather than reselling purchased merchandise. Profits should be generated not through higher prices, but by reducing self-cost. Then nobody will be surprised by big profits. As they say, more power to them.

Poll Shows Soviet Youth Support Glasnost

18001072 Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 20, 20-26 May 89 pp 4-5

[Article by sociologist A. Arefyev: "Youth and Restructuring: 97 Percent of Youth Support the Policy of Glasnost"]

[Text] **The material we bring to the attention of the reader is based on all-union polls of youth from 14 to 29 years of age. The polls were conducted by the public opinion study section of the Scientific Research Center of the VKSh TsK VLKSM [Higher Komsomol (Leninist Communist Youth League) School of the Central Committee of the Leninist Communist Youth League of the Soviet Union] during the period from the middle of 1988 to March 1989 inclusively. In all, 9,600 persons were polled.**

As the polls showed, 97 percent of the youth support the policy of glasnost. Sixty-eight percent of them are for no restrictions on glasnost whatsoever; 29 percent believe that voicing contradictions to the laws of socialism should not be allowed; 3 percent (including 5 percent of VLKSM members) believe that only those statements and judgments on political questions that coincide with the position of the CPSU are permissible.

The youth appraise the results of the restructuring of Soviet society in different ways. In the opinion of 82 percent of those polled, restructuring has had its greatest effect on our foreign policy, where changes for the better are already noticeable. Fifty percent of those polled see positive changes in domestic policy on the whole. This concerns democratization in society first and foremost (50 percent of those polled noted this) and positive changes in the area of culture (49 percent). The situation is worse, the youth believe, in economics, science, and technology, where only 22 percent of those polled see changes for the better, while 49 percent think that changes here are still only talk.

The results of restructuring in the sphere of management and education are given an even lower appraisal—only 18 percent of those polled see any on the whole. In addition, the appraisal of restructuring in the sphere of education differs somewhat in the various categories of young students: in secondary schools, 25 percent of the pupils see changes for the better; in PTU's [vocational technical schools] and technical schools, 11 percent; and in VUZ's [higher educationalal institutions], 16 percent of the students see changes for the better.

Changes in the standard of living of the population were given the lowest appraisal. Only 8 percent of those polled indicate an increase, 53 percent think that changes are taking place now only in words, and 20 percent of those polled believe that the socio-economic situation of the population is worsening. Almost as many (19 percent of those polled) have trouble answering this question.

The development of the cooperative sector as one of the ways to solve the socio-economic problem of the country is supported by 58 percent of those polled (especially in the area of everyday living services for the population), and against—28 percent. The opponents of cooperatives explain their position principally by the extremely high prices of goods and services for youth that the cooperatives offer, and also because individual work activity "arouses private property interests."

Comparing the results of restructuring in the USSR and the PRC, 26 percent of those polled believe that it is being implemented more effectively in the PRC; 14 percent, in the USSR; 6 percent do not see any substantial differences, and the rest (54 percent) have difficulting giving an estimate.

The most prominent state and political figures among Soviet leaders in 1988, in the opinion of the youth, were, first and foremost, M.S. Gorbachev and, further, with a great separation—B.N. Yeltsin, N.I. Ryzhkov, and E.A. Shevardnadze; among leaders and politicians of socialist countries—F. Castro; of capitalist countries—R. Reagan and M. Thatcher; and of developing countries—R. Ghandi.

Of foreign political information, data about capitalist countries arouse the greatest interest among the youth (on the whole, 68 percent of those polled are interested), first and foremost information about the United States, and also Japan and the FRG. In second place (45 percent overall) is information about socialist countries (in 1988 the greatest interest was aroused by events in Poland). Information about the developing countries was in third place. For understandable reasons, young people were interested most of all in events in Afghanistan.

Eighty-nine percent of the youth support the decision on withdrawing Soviet troops from Afghanistan, 5 percent are against, and the remainder did not give a position. At the same time, only 10 percent of those polled are fully satisfied with the information being received on problems connected with Afghanistan, 55 percent are partially satisfied, and the rest (16 percent) are not satisfied at all, or they have difficulty answering (4 percent).

Sixty-nine percent of the youth support and 4 percent do not approve of the policy of constructive state cooperation with the church and a broader elucidation of its activity in the mass media; the remainder are indifferent. In this regard, 70 percent think that to believe or not to believe is a personal matter for every individual, but 10 percent even think that religion is useful in the fight against manifestations of injustice in society. Eleven percent of those polled think that religion is the lot of the weak and those who have not found a niche in life, and that religion helps to maintain them, and 9 percent of the youth believe religion is an absurdity and nonsense.

The main reasons for negative phenomena among youth were cited by those polled as the poor organization of spare time for youth (46 percent), bureaucratism in the work of the state apparatus (44 percent), disenchantment in the ideals of socialism (40 percent), social injustice (36 percent), trouble in the family (36 percent), and formalism and bureaucratism in the activity of the Komsomol and other social organizations (37 percent).

Twenty-two percent of those polled who are members of the VLKSM sense restructuring in the activity of their Komsomol organizations to one extent or another. Thirty-seven percent think that restructuring has not yet touched their organizations, and the rest have difficulty answering. Student youth assess restructuring in the Komsomol in a more positive way, and those studying in PTU's assess it more skeptically.

For the time of stay in the ranks of the VLKSM, the opinions about the Komsomol of 41 percent of its members changed for the worse, and only 5 percent for the better. The opinions of 30 percent of those polled remained unchanged.

What would the Komsomol members themselves want to change in the activity of their organizations? Ten percent think that nothing should be changed in the Komsomol; 15 percent, to the contrary, think that changes are necessary, and they propose the following: First, get rid of bureaucratism and formalism in the work of the VLKSM and take the interests of the youth more fully into account and protect them better; second, achieve greater independence, both organizational and financial; third, motivate the Komsomols themselves;

and, finally, change the procedure for enrollment in the VLKSM (do not accept everyone in succession and do not force a "head count" enrollment in the VLKSM). The same percentage of those polled (15 percent) considers any changes useless, and the rest do not yet have any specific ideas and recommendations.

Informal associations attract the sympathy of the youth to an ever greater extent. Their outlook is assessed positively by 65 percent of those polled; 26 percent view them skeptically; and 5 percent consider them harmful.

The popularity of one or another informal association among the youth in different regions of the country varies (as does the geography of the spread of these organizations). We will cite data that are rather characteristic, in our view, of the last polls (February-March 1989) in Moscow. The most socially useful informal organizations that contribute to restructuring, in the opinion of workers and students, are the following: Ecologists (14 and 10 percent); Memorial (12 and 13 percent); Pamyat (6 and 14 percent), political clubs (4 and 9 percent); special interest clubs, amateur associations, and independent initiative groups (7 and 2 percent); literary-creative associations (3 and 5 percent); association of soldier-internationalists (3 and 5 percent); Democratic Union (4 and 3 percent); People's Fronts (4 and 1 percent); other associations (including metal, rock and roll, etc. musical groups)—6 and 7 percent respectively.

In the opinion of the polled workers and students, the following informal associations are harmful to restructuring: Pamyat, neofascists, the Democratic Union, punks, metal, rock and rollers, [lyubery], and a number of others.

Energy Official Discusses Reactor Safety Decree

18220128 Moscow PRAVITELSTVENNYY VESTNIK in Russian No 8, Apr 89 p 10

[Interview with V.V. Marin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau of the Fuel and Energy Complex, by V. Lvov: "Levels of Safety"—date and place not given]

[Text]**The government constantly holds in view the issues of providing safety in nuclear energy. Since the accident at the Chernobyl AES [nuclear power station], a major complex of multi-plan measures directed toward increasing the reliability of nuclear stations has been carried out. Serious improvements have been introduced in the designs of active power units and those under construction, and in the construction of equipment and equipment systems. The training of the operating staff has been significantly improved. Scientists and specialists continue intense work in this direction, developing and implementing in principal new technological decisions. It can be stated with certainty that today the possibility of an accident such as that of Chernobyl is completely excluded.**

A new stage has now come to this work. Its basic tasks were determined in the resolution recently adopted by the USSR Council of Ministers on supplementary measures to increase the safety of nuclear stations. Such resolutions used to be closed. But today, we will tell the readers of PRAVITELSTVENNAYA GAZETA not only of the fundamental positions of this document, but of what seems to be left between the lines.

Our interlocutor is V.V. Marin, first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Bureau of the Fuel and Energy Complex.

[Lvov] Vladimir Vasilyevich! What problems will be solved during the new phase of work on raising AES safety?

[Marin] Stipulated first and foremost is the reconstruction from 1989-1994 of all 14 active energy units built during the seventies. Today their safety systems are not completely up to the increased modern demands. These, as well as newly constructed power units, will be equipped with the so-called "passive" supplemental safety systems which do not require any sort of external power supply. This is very important. This allows for reliable cooling of the reactor in the event of any accident situation and for the localization of any discharge of radioactive matter while the reactor installation is depressurizing. Some of these systems have no analogies in world practice and are a serious step forward in resolving the problem of providing AES safety.

Also important is the condition that active energy units and those newly brought on line are equipped with developed diagnostic systems for checking the state of the equipment and the tubing. Such systems allow for the timely manifestation of the nuclear station's deviation from normal work modes and for taking measures in advance for the prevention of critical situations.

It is intended that the major scope of the work of replacing obsolete equipment at the AES's be executed during the period of scheduled repairs. This concerns first the control and measuring equipment, the computer equipment, the parts and assemblies of equipment which deteriorate quickly.

In connection with the exhaustion of design resources of the work of reactor equipment, a resolution has been adopted to this year halt the operation of the second power unit of the Beloyarskaya AES, and in 1990 the second power unit of the Novovoronezhskaya AES. As is known, the first power assemblies of these stations were halted several years ago.

Great attention has been directed toward the improvement of AES fire safety by expanding the application of nonflammable and radiation-resistant materials, including special enamels for the protective covering of building constructions and parts of roofing overlaps, as well as fireproof cable products and fire-resistant oils...

[Lvov] How is quality control over AES construction and assembly work and the production of equipment, apparatus, and control systems implemented?

[Marin] Safety provisions at nuclear stations depend to no small degree on the high quality of work at all stages of creation of the power units, including the choice of the site, the process of developing the project, as well as its construction, preparation, and the assembly of equipment.

An important element of this work is the further improvement of documentation of the technical specifications which define safe conditions and limits during the creation and operation of nuclear power installations. The basis of these is the requirements and recommendations of the International Atomic Energy Authority [IAEA] and the conclusions of the results of careful analysis of the causes of the Chernobyl AES accident.

[Lvov] How is the precise definition of the seismic characteristics of the sites of active AES's proceeding, as well as of those under construction and in the planning stage?

[Marin] The USSR Academy of Sciences, the USSR State Construction Committee, and the USSR Ministry of Geology are working intensively to correct the map of seismic zones in the areas where nuclear stations are situated. This work will be completed by 1 October this year.

[Lvov] Has the fate of the fifth and sixth power units previously under construction been decided definitively? Is an expansion of the active AES planned with the use of high-capacity reactors?

[Marin] The USSR Council of Ministers adopted a simple resolution to refuse to construct the fifth and sixth power units of the Chernobyl AES temporarily closed down after the accident. No expansion is planned of other active nuclear stations with the use of high-capacity reactors. In particular, it was decided to halt the construction of the fourth power unit at the Smolensk AES and the sixth power unit of the Kursk AES.

[Lvov] Our readers are interested in how spent nuclear fuel is stored. What safety provisions are involved? Are there any threats to nature and people?

[Marin] Safety provisions during the storage and transport of spent nuclear fuel and the utilization and burial of radioactive wastes formed during the operation of nuclear plants is the subject of particular attention. Accumulated domestic and international experience and scientific research allow for the simple confirmation that the technological processes, means, and methods reliably guarantee the safety of AES personnel, the population, and the natural environment.

This is the system for dealing with spent nuclear fuel in our country and the world today. The fuel assemblies unloaded from the reactor are first placed in water-filled cooling pools at the reactor where they are retained over the course of several years. After a reduction to a safe level of residual energy emission, the spent assemblies are transported to special on-site storage facilities from which they are later sent to reprocessing enterprises. They are transported in special container cars which have been carefully tested and built in compliance with IAEA requirements. In particular, their pressurization is not disturbed even in a fall onto a hard surface from a height of 9 meters, in a head-on, high-speed collision with other railway transportation equipment, in various types of fires, etc. The safety of such transportation has been confirmed by many years of practice.

The liquid and solid low- and medium-level radioactive wastes formed during the AES operation processes are concentrated in special, reliably protected vessels on the premises of the station. Ongoing control of their condition is arranged, precluding any sort of threat to nature and people. The AES is equipped with installations for burning solid and bitumenized liquid radioactive wastes. With this assistance the wastes turn into stable, compact structures. The volume of such wastes is insignificant and their dependable storage does not present any particular difficulties.

[Lvov] How is the work progressing on the creation of new-generation reactor installations with improved safety, reliability, and economic characteristics? When will they be introduced into the power industry?

[Marin] Work in this direction is in full swing. The most progressive domestic and foreign achievements are being utilized in the development of projects for reactor installations and of new-generation power units in general, and in the selection of lay-out and construction solutions. The main goal is to create an installation with such a degree of internal self-protection that it is independent of any equipment failure or personnel error. It is planned that the project work and necessary scientific and construction research will be completed by the mid-nineties so that by the 14th 5-Year Plan, construction will begin on the new generation of AES's.

It must be noted that the prototypes of such installations have already been created. The heat-supply nuclear stations under construction in Voronezh and Gorkiy can be counted among them. They have no analogies in world practice for their level of reliability and safety. Extremely promising in this field are the power units with high-temperature reactors, of which construction is planned to begin in the mid-nineties.

[Lvov] How is glasnost being expanded in AES activities?

[Marin] This is a very important question. The distrust of the nuclear power industry by a certain segment of society was to a significant extent linked with the groundless limitation of information on the work of AES's. Measures are now being taken to correct this situation. Information centers are now being created at each nuclear station. Here one may receive data on the work of energy units, the measures in effect and still planned for providing their safety, and the radiation conditions in the adjacent environment. AES's are now open for visits by representatives of labor collectives, educational institutions, and public organizations.

A center for public information in the field of nuclear power has been formed in Moscow. Its task is to provide competent, exhaustive answers to any questions which trouble people. A discussion club meets regularly at the Nuclear Power Institute imeni I.V. Kurchatov. Anyone may participate in its work.

As you can see, everything has been done to possess complete information on the AES's. It seems to me that the side of the mass information media must also provide a high level of responsibility for the accuracy and competence of materials published. And last, the resolution of the USSR Council of Ministers emphasizes the especially important role of the nuclear power industry in strengthening the country's economy as one of the most important progressive trends in increasing the generation of electric and heating power. For example, this has been confirmed by the experience of such countries as France, Belgium, and the FRG, in which AES's produce 70, 66, and 31 percent of all electric power, respectively.

Apparently, broad explanatory work is required among the public and all the country's population on the issues of the prospects for nuclear power.

Economic

Failure of Industry To Keep Up Quality Outlined

18300597 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
13 May 89 Morning Edition p 1

[Commentary by Yu. Rytov: "Are Bad Products Better Than Nothing?"]

[Text] **The USSR State Committee for Statistics reports: At industrial enterprises and associations operating under conditions of state acceptance of products, 8 percent of the products, valued at R14 billion, were not accepted the first time they were submitted. The final rejections amounted to R84 million worth.**

There used to be an old anecdote. One citizen asks another: "Why do you not buy yourself a car?" "I have ten reasons. First, I do not have the money...." "And the other nine cannot be discussed...."

In the modern variant the anecdote is somewhat different. The assortment of sewn and knitted items is limited as before, the USSR State Committee for Statistics states sadly in its summary of the results of operation during the first quarter, there are not enough coats, jackets, rain coats, suits, dresses, women's and children's tights, or footwear for all age groups for sale. In practically all regions of the country there are shortages in trade in electric household appliances, radio and television equipment, furniture, and also such goods as color photographic paper, many kinds of perfume and cosmetic items, razor blades, alarm clocks, galvanic elements, and cassettes. Sales of detergent, soap, and toothpaste have not been normalized in all regions.

The list is long. And each of us could continue it if we wanted to. Yes, the shortage of goods and services has become a universal phenomenon. How is industry reacting to this?

The overall volume of output of goods (not including the value of alcoholic beverages) increased during the first quarter of this year as compared to the same period of last year by 5.6 percent, including nonfood products—7.7 percent. Of course the increase is significant. But here we should like to draw attention to two circumstances.

In the first place, the prices of many kinds of products have continued to increase. "On the whole the increase in the output of light industry goods," we read, for example, in this same statistical summary, "comes from items that are sold with increments to the wholesale prices."

In the second place, the expansion of the production of goods was by no means combined with an improvement of their quality. Judge for yourselves. In 1985 manufacturing enterprises received complaints and conducted warranty repair on 209,000 washing machines. In 1988 this figure was already 369,000. For radios: 562,000 and 668,000, respectively. Tape recorders: 931,000 and 1,196,000, respectively. More than a million of the 5.5 million tape recorders produced in 1988—one out of every five—went in for warranty repair!

I should like to draw the readers' attention to the fact that in this case we cannot judge the quality of the household equipment that is produced from the number of complaints during the warranty period alone. What happens after this is not registered or evaluated by anyone except, of course, the owners themselves.

So what is happening to our product quality? For several years now we have been fighting—as we like to say—for it (remember, this was a 5-Year Plan of effectiveness and quality) but no appreciable progress has been made.

Here we are not speaking just about consumer goods—we are speaking about industrial products in general. For example, while during this same year of 1985 3,500 tractors came in for warranty repair, in 1988 the figure was 3,900. For grain combines these figures were 700 and 1,200. Trucks: 73,700 and 159,000. Excavators: 50 and 230.

Under the conditions of the all-encompassing demand and the monopolistic position of the suppliers, the manufacturing enterprises have been given the opportunity to work according to the principle: "Something bad is better than nothing...." For they will buy everything, they will take everything in any case!

One can easily imagine what kind of quality, what kind of consumer properties an item has if even under these circumstances there is no buyer for it.

As of 1 October 1988 trade had accumulated R960 million worth of so-called unmarketable, unsold goods. Of these 83 percent were fabrics, clothing, footwear, and haberdashery items.

The reader might say that these goods should be sold at reduced prices. True. That is what is done. Last year goods were marked down for an overall value of R2.6 billion. The state lost almost R1.5 billion on this operation. And even after the markdown they managed to sell only 61 percent of the items....

Now, as we know, extreme measures have been earmarked for expanding the production of goods. Next year their volume in the nonfood group is to increase by more than 20 percent.

But what about the quality? Of course the new Law on Product Quality and Protection of Consumer Rights should play a positive role. But still let us be realistic: Only a large quantity of goods can improve their quality. When the market goes into operation the demand will begin to determine the supply.

Agricultural

Meat Production, Sales Statistics Massaged

18000995 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
10 May 89 Morning Edition p 2

[Article by F. Chernetskiy, IZVESTIYA correspondent: "Meat in the Summary Report and on the Counter, or What Is Behind the Nice Figures of State Statistics"]

[Text] The oblast statistical administration published the results of the socioeconomic development of the Odessa Oblast in 1988. You study the figures and are delighted. Operations, let us say, in the agro-industrial complex, are moving along fairly well: It does not happen frequently that the agricultural gross output increased by 22.5 percent in comparison with the previous year. Moreover, growth is achieved in all lines: in grain, meat, milk, and vegetables. But whether you are delighted or not, something, nonetheless, is disturbing. Well, for example, there are the counters of Odessa stores, which did not get any richer, and indeed one does not get a sense of abundance at the markets either, but still prices are rising. What is the matter?

I went to the oblagroprom [oblast agricultural industry] for an explanation, to N. Koltykov, chief of the livestock-raising department.

"The topic is ticklish," agrees Nikolay Ilyich. "So, let us analyze it. We will start with what is in greatest shortage—meat. Here is the report data in the 'sales' column. In 1985, the oblast sold 178,000 tonnes of meat (live weight), and last year, 207,000 tonnes. There is an increase of 29,000 tonnes, or 16 percent. This would seem to be not too bad! But this is according to the accounts. But in reality? Here I would like to direct your attention to a fine point of a delicate nature. In 1985, organizations of the oblpotrebsoyuz [oblast consumer union] bought 25,000 tonnes of meat from the population. But then these same tonnes went to consumption inside the oblast, and they were not included in the account column 'sales'. But 3 years ago, in order to interest kolkhozs [collective farm] and sovkhozs [state farm] in the development of farmsteads, they were allowed to include meat produced in the individual small holdings and processed by consumer cooperative in their own plan. And although the consumer cooperative, as previously, purchases approximately the same amount of meat from the population, now, however, a significant part of it, last year it was 17,000 tonnes, goes through the kolkhoz-sovkhoz office, and it is included in the statistical report as having been sold to the state."

"It turns out that in reality these 17,000 tonnes of meat were not added, and the report figure was simply made to look better? The increase is a sham?"

"No, there is an increase, but not by 16 percent, but by one-half less."

"Eight percent is likewise not a bad addition, but it is also not noticeable on store counters."

"The fact is that simultaneously with this increase, there was also a 43 percent increase in the last 3 years in the delivery of meat to the union-republic stocks. For the purpose of clarity, I will cite a number of figures that characterize the changes in market stocks, that is, that quantity of meat which remains in the oblast and goes to supplying the population. In 1985, it amounted to 72,700 tonnes (intended for slaughter), in 1986—74,700, in 1987—75,100, and last year—70,000 tonnes. Comments are hardly necessary here. It is the same for milk: The increase in deliveries to the union-republic stocks exceeds the increase in its production. From this we get the result: In 1985 there were 667,000 tonnes of milk in the oblast for selling to the population, and last year there was 20,000 less.... In a word, in order to make ends meet somehow, the oblast has to ask the republic for subsidies for the market stocks. For example, in 1987 an additional 6,000 tonnes of meat was allocated, and last ear, 3,000."

"Is there a possibility of breaking this vicious circle?"

"I think there is one way: to increase production in the public sector, owing to which state food resources are also primarily formed. However, it is in this sector that there has been practically no growth in meat production in the last 3 years. It is true that an addition of 6 percent is planned for the current year. But it is more likely than not that this figure will remain on paper: Where will the meat come from if the provision of cattlebreeding with fodder, especially with concentrated fodder, is no better than in previous years. Although it would seem that the harvest was excellent last year and that the oblast fulfilled the plan of grain sales to the state—1,380,000 tonnes. Strictly speaking, this is the highest showing for the last 10 years. But the farms were compelled to conduct an above-plan sale of grain—more than 100,000 additional tonnes were shipped. And cattlebreeding was once again on cut rations. Thus, one cannot talk seriously either about meat, or about the planned 5-percent addition of milk. However, the deliveries to the union-republic stocks have also increased this year by 4 percent in comparison with last year, and for 1990, the increase is a full 17 percent. The farms are obligated to fulfill them."

"Of course, the simplest way out is to cut deliveries. But this is saying the obvious, and it is not a resolution of the problem. An all-around intensification of production is needed."

"True. However, first and foremost, fodder is needed for this. But it is here that there is great difficulty. Last year our oblast was in last place in the republic in the provision of fodder: In the estimate, 24 quintals of fodder units were fed to each typical head of cattle—half the norm. I am not even talking about the fact that an unusually large part of this fodder is straw. The situation, as the saying goes, is a dead end." "...I heard all of this, and the major key, in which the report figures of the statistical administration rang out, disappeared, and it switched to another key. It turns out that the store counters and market prices by and large realistically reflect the true state of affairs, unlike the statistics."

Scientific

CPSU's Falin Addresses Scientific Seminar

LD2305185789 Moscow TASS in English 1748 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—"This meeting provides to us an opportunity to discuss new processes, new phenomena which determine the face of the contemporary world," said Valentin Falin. The member of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and head of its International Department, delivered a welcoming address to an international scientific seminar, "The world of labour and mankind's destinies," opened here and timed for the 100th anniversary of the second International.

The three-day forum is held by the Social Sciences Institute of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee jointly with the Soviet Academy of Sciences' Institute of the International Working Class Movement and the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions. Eminent scientists and politicians representing Communist, Socialist, and Social-Democratic parties and some trade unions from almost 30 countries are attending the seminar.

Falin noted that representatives of various trends in the working class movement have not assembled for 75 years to consider, discuss, and analyse problems which directly affect the interests of broad masses and on which the destiny of all people hinges.

The seminar was convened at a complex and unconventional juncture in the USSR's development, Falin said. The Congress of People's Deputies will begin work on May 25. It will have its first and a qualitatively new say in favour of democracy, of such transformations which will not just bolster perestroyka and assure the irreversibility of what was begun, but through which genuine people's power will be realised.

Whatever discussions and no matter how they will proceed further on, all those present at today's meeting can be confident of one thing: There will be no return to the past, Falin stressed. The Soviet country as it is today strikingly differs in atmosphere and the situation from everything which could be observed here four to five years ago.

Falin said that in proclaiming the new political thinking, the Soviet Union not just issued a call to all countries to become partners, friends and good neighbours, but offered a concrete and businesslike programme of solving almost the entire spectrum of problems on which democratic international relations depend.

Space Official Reviews 'Mir' Station Mission

LD2305113589 Moscow TASS in English 1121 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow May 23 TASS—Soviet Glavkosmos chief Aleksandr Dunayev stressed the great importance of the work done aboard the orbital complex Mir for fundamental science and the economy of the Soviet Union. He was speaking at a news conference in the Soviet Foreign Ministry press centre today.

Dunayev said tht the cost of developing and operating the Mir station, from its launching in February 1986 until the return to earth on April 27 of its latest crew amounted to 1,471 million roubles.

The sum covers the cost of launching the main station unit, the Quant astrophysical module, the Progress ferry spacecrafts (7-8 per year) and the crew delivery vehicles as well as the costs of creating two new modules and the Gamma observatory.

"In the course of the mission, we conducted 824 communication sessions devoted to 64 scientific experiments in the fields of astrophysics, space technology, terrestrial natural deposits prospecting, space biology and medicine", cosmonaut Aleksandr Volkov said. "These included the use of 64 million hectares of arable land in the Ukraine, Moldavia and the Krasnodar territory, the pastures of Kalmykia and Kazakhstan, the dynamics of pollution of the Volga, the Black and Caspian Seas and the Sea of Azov. The information was fed directly to those who had ordered it."

Of the technical experiments, Volkov described as one of the most interesting the measurements of pressure outside the station with the help of a 10-meter rod extending from the locking section. When uncoupling the Progress-40 ferry craft an experiment was successfully carried out with unfolding a large-scale construction with metal links that can "remember" their previous arrangement. The process of unfolding and subsequent vibrations were recorded on film and videotape.

Academician Rashid Syunyayev said that the X-ray telescopes installed in the Quant astrohysical module provided unique pictures of the spectres of the supernova which flared up in the large magellanic cloud and the nova in the little fox constellation as well as data on the modification of the revolution speed of the neutron pulsars.

When preparing the station for its automatic flight, the crew performed the necessary repair and restoration work on its on-board systems. A new crew is due on board the Mir station in August of this year.

Speaking about the reasons for discontinuing the piloted mission, Dunayev cited delays in building two new modules, one technological and the other with additional equipment whose docking was scheduled for May. "Besides, for economic considerations the interval between the launchings of the two modules should not exceed 3 to 4 months. This was why the original schedule was waived. The technological module will be launched in December, preceded by the other one in October," he said.

'Buran' Grounded for Economic, Technical Reasons

PM2305123189 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 21 May 89 p 1

[Reply by A. Dunayev, chief of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology, to reader's letter: "'Buran' Laid Up?"—first paragraph is reader's letter]

[Text] What has happened to our "Buran" since its flight? It is said that the next launch has been postponed owing to technical faults. [signed] A. Vinogradov, Kiev

A. Dunayev, chief of the USSR Main Administration for the Creation and Utilization of Space Technology, replies:

"This information has indeed appeared in certain U.S. publications. But there are no faults. We have simply started counting our costs and relating them to economic and technical expediency. [no closing quotation marks as published]

It is not planned to launch "Buran" this year.

As a TASS correspondent reported yesterday, the An-225 "Mriya"—the world's largest transport aircraft—has delivered the "Buran" to the O.K. Antonov Experimental Design Bureau in Kiev.

The "Mriya" and the "Buran" will soon be setting off for the Le Bourget air show.

Military

More on 'Komsomolets' Nuclear Submarine Reported

Navy Locates 'Komsomolets'

LD2305151989 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1444 GMT 23 May 89

[Text] Moscow, 23 May (TASS)—In accordance with the plans for searching for the submarine "Komsomolets," hydrographic ships of the USSR Navy have carried out a survey of the area in which it sank. The hydrographic research ship "Persey" has pinpointed the submarine's location on the seabed.

A TASS correspondent has been told at the USSR Academy of Sciences Oceanology Institute that, on the basis of these data, the scientific research ship "Akademik Mstislav Keldysh," which arrived on 16 May in the areas where the submarine sank used "Mir" deep water submersible systems which it had on board to visually locate and photograph the submarine. It then carried out a range of ecological tests. They have shown that the level of radiation at various depths and in soil samples do not exceed the background level and do not differ from the magnitude characteristic for remote water areas of the world ocean. Tests on sediment samples, as well as materials from biological tests, have shown an absence of indications of an increased level of radiation or other irregularities in the ecological situation in the area where the submarine sank. Work on surveying the area continues.

Secrecy Mania Cost Submariners' Lives

PM1605132789 Moscow OGONEK in Russian No 18, 29 Apr-6 May 89 (Signed to Press 26 Apr) pp 26-27

[Article by Vaiz Yunisov: "Tragedy in the Norwegian Sea: Myths and Reality"]

[Text] Severomorsk-Murmansk—On spring evenings Northern Fleet sailors assemble in the Navy Officers' Center and watch the shows "Scrap Heap" and "Suspicious Incident." On days when the stage is free, the curtain is drawn back and a movie screen automatically descends—the other day, for example, the citizens were shown the Soviet hit movie "Criminals Within the Law," which has finally reached the far north. The house was full and people came out into the fresh air, lighting cigarettes after the performance, and went in droves along the main street of Severmorsk toward the bay, where the stone statue of Alesha—the unknown seaman who defended the Arctic—stands, near the terminus complex. Alas, the people were not discussing shows, nor were they arguing about the plot of the movie they had just seen. What they were wondering was why, in peacetime, did Northern Fleet submariners perish so courageously and so absurdly? How was it that the advanced nuclear submarine "Komsomolets" was unable to stay afloat? Will it be brought up from a depth of 1,500 meters?

"The Americans would be able to raise the boat in 3 days. We do not have the technology," is the view that is current among seamen and experts in diving and raising operations.

Rumors, conjecture, argument....

Frankly speaking, people were bewildered by what Vice Admiral S. Vargin, member of the Northern Fleet Military Council, said on the "Vremya" program. And not only Navy people. Not only the Northern Fleet people. He said that they are considering the possibility of raising the boat to establish the causes of the accident. Is this the chief and only reason for possibly raising the boat? Why, when the whole world knows that it was a deep-water submarine and that it was trying out the latest developments in science and technology, again (for the umpteenth time!) try to conceal the fact that it was unique—secret, that is?

We have been governed by tight-lipped secrecy for too many years! Only now that we have had the most serious accident in the history of our nuclear submarines do we discover that it is the fifth to have sunk for various reasons in the past 30 years (since 1959); three of the lost nuclear submarines belonged to the Northern Fleet and two to the Pacific Ocean Fleet. One of them sank twice, in fact.

...On that day, 7 April 1989, the submarine "Komsomolets" was returning from an independent cruise, sailing at no great depth. The fire, as preliminarily established by the government commission, occurred at 1102 Moscow time as a result of a short circuit. First in the No 7 compartment and then in others. After the alarm sounded, officer B. Kolyada said, the nuclear power plant was shut down and the boat surfaced. "There was fire everywhere by then: Cables and panels were on fire in battle stations," computer group engineer Lieutenant A. Tratyakov joined in the conversation. "We saw them explode and the guys ripped them off literally with their bare hands to try to stop the flames somehow." I would point out that the compartments had been sealed off— submarine service procedure. And had it not been for instructions to the effect: "Die before allowing the fire to get into the neighboring compartment," the boat would have gone much sooner.

In accordance with instructions and carrying out their military duty, below-deck team Senior Seaman N. Bukhnikashvili and Warrant Officer V. Kolotilin were the very first to perish.

"Komsomolets" medical service chief Senior Lieutenant L. Zayats described the kind of fire the submariners came up against.

"The emergency teams were pulling out onto the bridge seamen who had been burned and overcome by fumes. As they tried to bring them up into the fresh air their skin came off with their vests. The seamen in the No 5 and No 6 compartments were badly hit and there were problems resuscitating the boat's cooks. The individual respirators were not entirely suitable, it proved during the fire. Sure, they helped. But not to the extent that it was possible to remain in the suffocating atmosphere for long, although the respirators were supposed to provide substantial protection against suffocation. After donning a respirator I, for example, felt bad after 15 minutes or so. After 20 minutes three seamen wearing masks had lost consciousness.

Many of those who had the good fortune to survive on 7 April told me in the Severomorsk military hospital that the respirators were an extremely bad means of protection in an emergency: two cylinders, a bag of air, and a mask, which few seamen could don quickly. Medical service chief Leonid Zayats, who survived the drama, saw how the seamen perished and why:

"Those who were physically weakened by the suffocating fumes and were unable to swim drowned."

Of course, neither the crew nor the Northern Fleet leadership should be accused over bad respirators—those who designed, developed, and distributed them throughout the USSR Navy are responsible. The authoritative commission nevertheless told the press that the boat was technically sound and ready for a long voyage. The nuclear reactor? Yes. The nuclear torpedoes? Yes. But not the respirators, which are part of the boat's emergency rescue faciltiies. And something perhaps just as important depends on this part: The lives and health of the seamen and, in the end, their assignment in this situation—to fight for the survival of their boat.

What happened then?

The submarine spent approximately an hour rocking back and forth in the waves. The smoke and steam from the No 7 compartment spread over the sea. The crew, headed by Captain 1st Rank Yevgeniy Vanin, continued their efforts to extinguish the fire on board.

From my conversation with All-Union Leninist Communist Youth Leaque [Komsomol] organizer Warrant Officer Aleksandr Kopeyko I learned that the disaster signal was not sent to the Northern Fleet headquarters immediately after the boat surfaced. The young warrant officer found it hard looking back on those moments: anxiety in his eyes, fingers playing with the buttons of his brown hospital smock. The tragic loss of the "Admiral Nakhimov" was still fresh in the mind. (Sasha had been studying at the Odessa technical college at the time and read and thought a great deal about the tragedy in the Black Sea. But he still joined the Navy. Although he never could have known that this would happen to him. But it did happen.) But on board Aleksandr did not behave like the first mate and party organizer of the "Admiral Nakhimov," who, when trouble came, abandoned the crew and the party documents.

"We crossed latitude 72. I reported our position to the radio operators," the warrant officer recalled. "And they started to transmit coded distress signals to Severomorsk. This was at 1226 hours, if I am not mistaken."

"You sent SOS signals?"

No. Naval seamen do not use the SOS signal. For that reason none of the rescue services in Scandinavia deciphered the submarine's fire signal.

Alesandr Kopeyko is right. Commander Vanin did not have the authority to send an open international signal without an order. But why didn't the Navy leadership do it?

...It is estimated that 4 hours 49 minutes elapsed from the moment the distress signal was transmitted on the satellite channel. Time enough to reach the burning ship and save the seamen. In that situation we could have contacted the Norwegian authorities, after all there already exists a Soviet-Norwegian intergovernmental agreement on giving assistance to citizens from the two countries in emergencies at sea. There is also the 1974/1978 multilateral Convention on Protecting Human Life at Sea. Moreover, emergency rescue headquarters have been set up in Murmansk and in Bodo in Norway for this specific purpose. I am sure we would have offered assistance—immediate at that—if a Norwegian submarine had had an accident somewhere off Franz Josef Land.

Why did we not contact them? Fear of giving away secrets? Did Northern Fleet headquarters want to rely on its own efforts? The other day the magazine STERN published a sectional view of the submarine and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA reproduced it. What kind of secrecy is that! West Germany journalists, strange as it may seem, are rather well informed about the Navy's submarine business.

Work it out: It would have taken the average rescue ship 1.5-2 hours to sail from Bodo to the spot where the "Komsomolets" was lost. In Bodo they learned of the drama that had occurred 180 km southwest of Bear Island...12 hours after the fire and 6.5 hours after the boat was lost.

Naval people are sure that an ordinary Norwegian ship with no interest in an ultrasecret submarine would have been able to respond in time to an ordinary distress signal. At least, there would not have been as many deaths in the icy water, and people would not have had to make courageous efforts to save their own lives and the lives of their comrades.

Jumping ahead, I would say that at the Main Rescue Service Center (Northern Norway) they were absolutely amazed that the fire and evacuation signal had not been sent in the usual way, in line wih international practice, but in a coded form and on national frequencies. The Norwegians believe that the Northern Fleet headquarters apparently underestimated the difficulties the boat was in.

Some 15 minutes after it was lost Norwegian Defense Minister J.J. Holst received information on the fire on our boat through military channels. His actions would be discussed some days later in parliament and described as passive, because he had failed to take action to save the Soviet seamen.

How does one describe the actions of the Northern Fleet headquarters, which Captain 1st Rank Ye. Vanin contacted when he was in difficulty? Unless you consider that the headquarters was relying solely on its own efforts, they appear competent and prompt: Aircraft were scrambled and the USSR Navy's fastest ships, including the nuclear cruiser "Kirov" and the rescue ship "Karabakh," went out to the Bear Island area. The hydrographic ship "Kolguyev" and floating base "Aleksey Khlobystov" were the "nearest" to the disaster area (the submariners who were saved are grateful to the crew of the floating base—seamen revived seamen, surrounding the victims with warmth and human concern).

But, alas, rescue was still far off.

The "Komsomolets" was still managing to keep afloat and the submariners had put out the fire in all compartments except No 7. What happened in the fateful No 7 compartment will be established by the authoritative commission, but while nearly the entire crew was on deck waiting to be rescued, helping injured and poisoned comrades, this compartment was not inspiring confidence: Fumes were still issuing from it, and all around the overheated sea was seething. The onboard chemical firefighting system was connected up to the No 7 compartment, but the attempt to eliminate the center of the entire accident was in vain.

Senior Lieutenant V. Gregulev, submarine medical service chief:
"I remember the moment when the stern suddenly started to go down. I thought at the time: Well done Sergey Dvorov amd Igor Orlov for managing to shut down the nuclear power plant. We started to jump in the water—it was no longer possible to stand on the deck because of the severe trim down by the stern. Someone shouted: 'Get the rafts in the water!'"

It was clear in a matter of minutes that the "Komsomolets'" rafts were not suitable for rapid use either. Warrant Officer Semen Grigoryan tried to do this with raft No 1. The rescue facility, intended for 20 people, obstinately remained attached, and the minutes, nervous and hurried, seemed like hours to Semen. Finally, the brackets gave way to the force exerted by the warrant officer and the raft fell into the water. The seamen had hoped that it would automatically fill with air, but it failed to open up and floated away. Semen dashed to raft No 2, but that, too, did not get into the water as it was supposed to do: The bracket held the raft in a vise-like grip. Semen lost all hope and thought that unless the raft detached itself from the boat he would go to the bottom with it. "It's all over!" the warrant officer thought and clung to the bracket. A strong wave swept over the deck, knocking the seaman off together with raft. The raft opened up upside down for some reason.

The seamen clinging to the 1000-kg vessel did not even try to turn it over. It was futile to try in the icy water. The naval airmen conducted a prompt and competent rescue operation. They got to the sinking boat in time. But what could they do there, up in the air, for those who were still in the sea?

Major G. Petrogradskikh's crew established good radio contact with the boat and there were constant exchanges about what was taking place. For nearly 4 hours the airmen relayed the conversations to the mainland. The moment the fire broke out it was reported from the boat that the crew were prepared to fight for their survival themselves, that there had been casualties. A little later commander Ye. Vanin made some requests, which involved the supply of extra firefighting facilities and a possible tow for the boat. As 1700 hours approached the reports became more anxious. Then the "Komsomolets" announced immediate evacuation....

I repeat that the airmen did nearly everything demanded of them. They led ships to the scene of the tragedy by radio and by flares and they dropped their own rescue facilities into the sea.

"Three small rafts were dropped," I was informed at the USSR Navy Main Shipbuilding Directorate. "But not one opened."

Why?

The stricken boat sank rapidly beneath the waves. By that time only four people were on the list of those killed by the fire. Another 38, who remained alive in the sea, would die of hypothermia or heart failure or drown. We will always remember those who remained at their posts until the last moment!

By 1715 hours the submarine had gone down, taking with it six seamen, including commander Yevgeniy Vanin. Five would manage to transfer to the emergency chamber, which is part of the submarine and is designed to be ejected in an emergency when the submarine is underwater. The sixth, Captain 3d Rank Anatoliy Ispenkov, would die, taken unawares by a wave, in the boat itself.

The five remained in the emergency chamber, which was designed to hold the entire crew. The depth gage indicator moved down and down: 50 meters, 100, 200.

Commander:
"Detach the chamber, Viktor. Or we'll drown with the boat."

Warrant officer Viktor Slyusarenko (the only one left alive in the chamber) tried to detach the chamber but encountered the same problem Semen Grigoryan had faced with the rafts. The ejection chamber seemed to have fused with the hull, Viktor recalls. "Hydraulic failure? Maybe the detachment mechanisn has jammed."

The commander chivied him:
"Any moment now we're going to be crushed."

The chamber simply refused to detach itself and went to the bottom with the boat. The depth gage was now showing 250, 300, and shuddered to a halt at 400. In that closed space, beneath a colossal mass of water, lay five of those respirator rescue sets—so everyone could have been saved. At that kind of depth, given the massive drop in pressure when surfacing, they had to be put on, otherwise—instant death.

Only two managed to don masks.

"I think we were at a depth of 600 meters when, according to the commander, the bulkheads began to explode," Viktor said. "A powerful explosion rocked the entire boat, knocking some of us over. It was the explosion, probably, that detached us from the sinking boat. My comrades did not manage to get their masks on and they died. I saw them die, you see! And the chamber shot upward, like a float...."

Who was in the rescue chamber, which was not ready for an emergency?

Warrant Officer A. Kopeyko:
"I felt the explosion in my feet. All of us on the raft felt the shock wave. We thought the rubber raft had burst. So the end was nigh. We inspected the raft—fine. Then someone saw the chamber surface and immediately go down, apparently having filled with water."

...At that moment Viktor Slyusarenko managed to get out of the chamber. But how did the seaman stay afloat in the Norwegian Sea without a raft?

"He's my strong man," Olga Slyusarenko, Viktor's wife, said, tears of joy filling her eyes, "and a good swimmer. He swims the Yuzhnyy Bug with ease."

...At 1820 hours, Moscow time, the 30 seamen left from the crew of the lost submarine were picked up by the floating base "Aleksey Khlobystov." Only 27 would survive, saved from hell.

Didn't a lot of people die trying to save an ultrasecret submarine? And was the boat really ready, technically, in those small details which were fateful for many?

Chernavin Presents Crew Awards

LD2305081889 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2114 GMT 22 May 89

[From the "Novosti" newscast]

[Text] [Announcer] As has already been reported, by decree of the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium the crew of the nuclear-powered submarine "Komsomolets" which sank in April in the Norwegian Sea has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner. [video shows seated gathering of applauding men and women and ceremony during which sailors are presented with awards]

Admiral of the Fleet Chernavin, commander in chief of the Navy, presented the state decorations to the gallant submariners undergoing treatment and regaining their health in a military sanatorium. [video shows presentation, sailors pinning on their decorations]

[Begin recording] [Unidentified sailor speaking from rostrum] At this time, receiving this high decoration of the motherland, everyone promises to himself to remember and be loyal to his commander and to his crew to the end of his days. [end recording] [video shows grieving women]

The Northern Fleet: House of the Officers of the submariners garrison. The Orders of the Red Banner were also presented to the members of the families of the sailors who perished. [video shows presentation of award to woman and grieving relatives]

Officials Discuss Future of Group Forces Soldiers

PM1905114089 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 18 May 89 First Edition p 3

[Correspondents Colonel A. Vasilets, Lieutenant Colonel I. Kosenko, and Lieutenant Colonel N. Panyukov report: "The Trains are Leaving.... The Withdrawal of Soviet Formations and Units From GDR Territory Continues"]

[Excerpts] Undoubtedly no one needs to be convinced that the job of preparing the troops for redeployment [perebazirovaniye] and subsequent disbandment [rasformirovaniye] is not an easy matter. It is not just the intense physical labor connected with reducing units and giving up military hardware: This is a great moral strain on people, like any move to a new place. Particularly for those officers and warrant officers who had recently arrived in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany, and had hardly settled down in the new place, when again they had to get ready to leave. Yet people were very understanding about the news of the reduction of Soviet Armed Forces, and they fully support our state's latest and very impressive peace initiative.

This is what Colonel A. Kireyev, chief of the 32d Guards Division Political Section, told us:

"The complexity of the task of withdrawing our units is linked not so much with the resolution of technical problems as with people's lives. A large part of the commanding officers' and political workers' organizational activity is actually directed at working with people. Colonel General N. Moiseyev, chief of the political directorate of the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany and member of the military council, and representatives of cadre organs met with the officers and warrant officers and their families. Discussions were held with anyone who expressed a desire for this. It was explained that all the office doors are open at any time to any one who has any questions, problems, or difficulties." [passage omitted]

Senior Lieutenant A. Ortin from the unit commanded by Colonel A. Poltavskiy spoke to us. He himself and several other officers had written out requests to be discharged from the ranks of the Armed Forces on the grounds of the manpower reduction. It was explained to the officers that they could only be discharged on the grounds of being unfit for duty, to which they naturally could not agree.

We asked Army General D. Sukhorukov, USSR deputy defense minister for personnel, to explain the situation.

"The officers were given the wrong answer. However, the refusal to discharge them while they are in the Group of Soviet Forces in Germany is right. After all, the regiment has great need of their help at such a difficult time. But the proposal to discharge them on the grounds of being unfit for duty is unlawful. This is what should have been done: They should have been discharged on the grounds of the manpower reduction on arrival in the USSR. Provided, of course, that they do not change their mind by then. But such a formula for discharging can only apply to those officers who are serving in the units to be disbanded."

It goes without saying that such an unusual and complex matter as withdrawal from the territory of another state and disbanding of tank divisions could hardly take place without a hitch. The withdrawal concerned the lives of thousands of people and affected their interests. For example, there are officers who could not immediately decide on the subsequent continuation of their service and changed their minds in the course of time, and when the decision was already taken, they were dissatisfied. In a word, there are certain drawbacks, but even these can and should be minimized.

The trains are continuing to move off....

Uses for Withdrawn Military Equipment Outlined

LD2305200189 Moscow World Service in English 1410 GMT 22 May 89

[Text] Next our military observer Colonel Eduard Asaturov takes a look at the processes of arms cuts under way in the Soviet Union:

[Asaturov] Exact data are already available as to when and what military units and divisions are to be disbanded. Cutbacks are to be made on the total number of infantry and tank armies, Air Force divisions, and other forces, and entire military districts are to be eliminated. That work will be large scale indeed. In parts it will provide for converting released weapons systems and military hardware to peaceful uses.

General Yuriy Markelov, chief of the Soviet General Staff's press center, observed in this connection: [Begin Markelov recording in Russian with superimposed English translation] The whole process promises to be very complex. Experts will have to map out a detailed plan to specify areas to which various released hardware is to be directed. One will have to know for sure how many wheeled vehicles or, say, super-heavy trucks, a given area would need. Converted equipment will be channelled into agriculture, construction, and other civilian industries. As far as tanks are concerned, older ones that are well worn out will be smelted; newer tanks will be remodelled to serve as tractors for civilian purposes. [end recording]

[Asaturov] Soon after General Markelov told me as much at the General Staff, I learned that a steel works in the city of Chelyabinsk in the Ural mountains had already begun smelting tanks. The Defense Ministry has compiled and submitted to the relevant government bodies a list of converted items worth R500 million which are to be sold this year to individual citizens, cooperatives, and various other organizations. The list embraces 20-odd thousand auto vehicles, fuel tanks, and fueling equipment, navigation devices that can be used by fishing vessels, and also electronic and other equipment. Interested parties are said to have begun receiving converted systems at Army and Navy store houses.

What I never expected is that artillery systems, too, can be given a second life. Specialists in the Urals city of Perm have decided to use parts of artillery guns in manufacturing pile drivers for the construction industry. Pontoons and other landing equipment once use by the Army engineers will fit into civilian uses with virtually no remodelling. After a number of Army camps became redundant the command transferred the barracks and vehicles to local governing bodies, as was the case in the German Democratic Republic, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary after Soviet troops pulled out. There are plans to leave over to the local authorities other former Army facilities, too.

Similar work has been under way in this country as well. A factory is to be commissioned shortly in the former Army camp in the town of Kingisepp in the Leningrad Military District which will make clothes for children. The work of converting the factory has been conducted with assistance from American businessmen. And 4,000 hectares of land that once belonged to Army divisions in the Belorussian and Baltic Military Districts has been transferred to the agrarian sector

All those have been just a few first steps along the road of conversion. The bulk of work is still ahead.

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